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MAGAZINE SECTION

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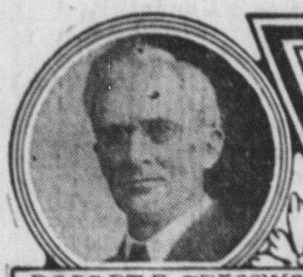
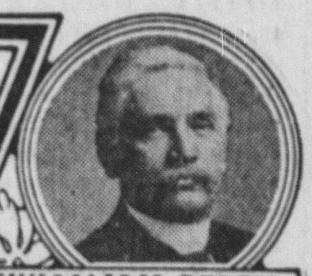


ROBERT E. CRESSWELL



WILLIAM H. BERRY

What Democracy Stands For

IN THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA

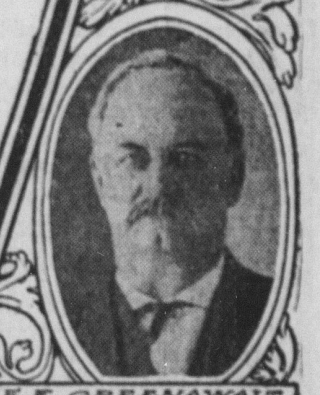
"We represent the desire to set up an unmanaged government—a government that cannot be used for private purposes either in the field of business or in the field of politics—a government that will not tolerate the use of the organization of a great party to serve the personal aims and ambitions of any individual and that will not permit legislation to be employed to further any private interest."—WOODROW WILSON.

To carry out this purpose the Democratic Party in Pennsylvania will, if given the power, so amend the election laws as to secure liberty, equality and honesty in elections, which do not now exist.

If government is to be free the power of the people to elect must be sure.

If government is to be honest its source must be pure.

GEO. B. SHAW



E. E. GREENAWALT

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GEO. R. McLEAN

Wilson Friend of the Railroad Employe

The opposition to Wilson has been practically filtered down to a single false proposition. After all other misrepresentations have been refuted the accusation is made that Wilson is an enemy of labor and that falsehood is paraded before the wage-earners as a finality.

Those who employ this falsehood to deceive the working men show scant respect for their intelligence. The records on the subject are accessible and honest and intelligent working men of Pennsylvania not only read but they think and know.

The following facts are presented in order that there may be no further misunderstanding of Woodrow Wilson's views upon the labor question:

FIRST.

Semi-Monthly Pay Bill for Railroad Employees.

For years the railroad employees' associations of New Jersey demanded a law which would enable them to draw their wages twice a month. They demanded that they be freed from the clutches of the loan sharks, whose usurious interest charges they had long submitted to. But so long as the Republicans were in control a strong railroad lobby always fought them successfully.

Governor Wilson supported this measure in every possible way.

When the time came to sign the bill, railroad attorneys appeared before Governor Wilson, and argued against its approval, claiming that such a law would impose, unjustly and unnecessarily, additional financial burdens on the railroad companies.

Governor Wilson considered these arguments carefully and then *signed the bill.* For this he was commended by associations of railroad employees throughout New Jersey, and in a resolution adopted February 29, 1912, at Trenton, by the State Federation of Labor.

SECOND.

Full Crew Bill.

At the Democratic State convention, held at Trenton, October 3, 1911, Governor Wilson had inserted into the Democratic platform the following pledge:

"We favor safeguarding railway travel as far as possible and, therefore, pledge ourselves to the passage of a law to accomplish the purpose contemplated in the FULL CREW BILL which failed to pass the last Republican Senate."

In his Inaugural Message to the Legislature the Governor urged action as follows:

"We have done much toward securing justice and safety for the workingmen of the State in our factory laws, our tenement house legislation and our employers' liability act, but we have not done enough. Our workmen very justly

WHAT THE

Democratic Candidate for President

Has Accomplished as Governor of New Jersey for the Man Who

Drives the Engine
Works in the Yards
Sets the Brakes
Flashes the Signal and
Safeguards Our Lives

demand further legislation with regard to the inspection and regulation of factories and workshops, and I recommend legislation of this kind to your very careful and earnest consideration. I recommend, moreover, the passage at an early date of an act requiring the railways operating within this State to provide their trains with adequate crews. Our sister State of Pennsylvania has adopted legislation of this kind and the railways whose lines cross from Pennsylvania into New Jersey actually carry full crews to the border of this State and then send their trains on through New Jersey with diminished crews, to the jeopardy, as I believe, of life and property, requiring more of the small crew than it can safely and thoroughly do."

Whereupon Assemblyman Ford, Democrat from Hudson County and President of the State Federation of Labor, introduced a bill embodying these suggestions of Governor Wilson. It passed the House, but failed in the Senate, owing to opposition from Republicans.

THIRD.

Employers' Liability Act.

(Chapter 95, Laws 1911, page 134.)

Accidents to railroad employees were provided for by the workmen's compensation act, which contained provisions for the automatic payment of compensation to railroad employees for injuries or loss of life, doing away with the old barbaric fellow-servant doctrine, which had been nurtured by the common law.

For years the employees and laborers of the State of New Jersey had demanded this kind of legislation, but their demands were never satisfied owing to the sinister influences which worked against it.

In his Inaugural Message to the Legislature Governor Wilson said:

"In the first place, it is plain that our laws with regard to the relations of employer and employee are in many respects wholly antiquated and impossible. They were framed for another age, which nobody now living remembers, which is, indeed, so remote from our life that it would be difficult for many of us to understand it, if it were described to us. The employer is now generally a corporation or huge company of some kind; the employee is one of hundreds or of thousands brought together, not by individual masters whom they know and with whom they have personal relations, but by agents of one sort or another. Workingmen are marshalled in great numbers for the performance of a multitude of particular tasks under a common discipline. They generally use dangerous and powerful machinery, over whose repair and renewal they have no control. New rules must be devised with regard to their obligations and their rights, their obligations to their employers and their responsibilities to one another. New rules must be devised for their protection, for their compensation when injured, for their support when disabled.

"We call these questions of employers' liability, questions of workingmen's compensation, but those terms do not suggest quite the whole matter. There is something very new and very big and very complex about these new relations of capital and labor. A new economic society has sprung up, and we must effect a new set of adjustments. We must not pit power against weakness. The employer is generally, in our day, as I have said, not an individual, but a powerful group of individuals, and yet the workingman is still, under our existing law, an individual when dealing with his employer, in case of accident, for example, or of loss of life or of illness, as well as in every contractual relationship. We must have a workingman's compensation act which will not put upon him the burden of fighting powerful composite employers to obtain his rights, but which will give him his rights without suit, directly, and without contest, by automatic operation of law, as if of a law of insurance.

"This is the first adjustment needed, because it affects the rights, the happiness, the lives and fortunes of the largest number, and because it is the adjustment for which justice cries loudest and with the most direct appeal, to our hearts as well as to our consciences."

Governor Wilson then conferred with the Committee on Railroads and Canals in the House, urging favorable consideration of the bill, and in every way possible *aided its passage through the Senate.* As a last resort, the attorneys of the railroad companies demanded that he veto it, but GOVERNOR WILSON CONSIDERED ITS BASIC PROVISIONS SO JUST AND HUMANE THAT HE SIGNED IT.

His Fever.

Small Harold complained of having a fever and persuaded his mother to let him stay at home from school. Later he asked permission to go out and play.

"Why, I thought you had a fever, Harold?" she said in reply.

"So I have, mamma," he explained; "but it's the baseball fever."

The Democratic Party Merits Your Confidence

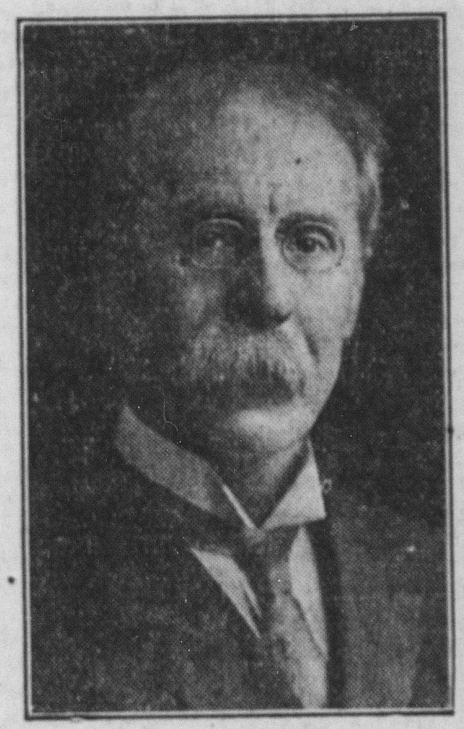
By GEORGE W. GUTHRIE, Chairman State Committee.

THE regular Republican party and the new Third Term party are united in an effort to frighten the people into opposition to the Democratic party.

To secure their own ends they are willing to do all in their power to endanger the business of the country and obstruct the spread of prosperity, which, after nearly five years of deep depression, has at last begun to relieve the people; indifferent to the suffering and distress they would cause, if it only tends to promote their own political interests.

Recently the Republican organization published an advertisement extolling the virtues which it claims for its candidate, but which in itself, when properly considered, affords an answer to this false prediction of calamity. This advertisement says:

"When President Taft took over the government the country was prostrate. Industry was paralyzed. Business was chaotic, uncertain, suspicious. Millions were out of employment. Investors, wherever possible, had withdrawn their capital. Enterprise was dead."



GEORGE W. GUTHRIE

Hon. George W. Guthrie, chairman of the Democratic State committee, was busy at his desk in Democratic State headquarters, Harrisburg, the other day, when this subject was brought to his attention. After reading the advertisement carefully he pondered a moment and then said:

Let the people remember. In November, 1907, when the panic to which this article refers and from which we are now slowly recovering, began, there had been an era of almost twelve years of uninterrupted Republican supremacy and the Dingley tariff, with its prohibitory rates, had been in force for ten years; Mr. Roosevelt had still nearly a year and a half to serve as President—the probabilities were that a Republican would be elected to succeed him, and it would be two years before a new Congress could even consider any alterations of the tariff rates then existing.

And yet the panic occurred. It followed nearly twelve years of Republican administration and High Protective tariff for the trusts.

Whatever its cause the Republican party must bear the sole responsibility.

The Republican party, at the time, practically acknowledged that the tariff, for which it was responsible, at least contributed to the distress of business and the suffering of the people, and promised a revision for their relief, which promise Mr. Taft, its candidate, declared meant *"a revision downward."*

On this promise, so interpreted, the people determined to continue the Republican party in power; but instead of redeeming the promise, the Payne-Aldrich tariff was passed.

DEPRESSION CONTINUED

The depression continued and the sufferings of the people were not relieved.

Instead, the earning power of the people decreased and the cost of living increased.

In 1910 the people, voicing their demand for relief which the Republican party had promised but failed to give, elected a Democratic House of Representatives.

When the Democratic House showed that it had the power to agree upon amendments and reductions which a united party would support, the hopes of the people revived and from that time to this, when the election of Woodrow Wilson and a Democratic House seems so certain as to be almost conceded, the improvement of business has been continuous.

Now, President McCrea, of the Pennsylvania railroad, states in a public interview, "Prosperity has survived."

In view of the suffering the people have so long endured, this effort, under the direct inspiration of the National Republican administration to destroy confidence and obstruct business, in order to secure a partisan advantage and a continuance of the privileges which a few now enjoy at the expense of the many, is most dishonest and unpatriotic.

Every intelligent man whose views are not perverted by the special privileges which he enjoys under the present law, admits the necessity of a change.

The Republican party has clearly shown that it either will not or cannot make the changes demanded by justice and fair dealing, and which are necessary that the prosperity of the country may continue.

The Democratic party is loyal to the country and desires its best interests above all else. Its representatives are as intelligent and as capable of handling this question wisely as the members of the Republican party, their interest in its prosperity is as great and they have the advantage that they are neither subsized nor controlled by the "predatory interests of great wealth."

The destiny of the country will be safe in their hands.

What they promise they will do.

In view of the past failures of both Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Taft, in this regard, the people have no cause to expect anything from them.

FREE FROM CONTROL

In order that a political party should be the instrument of free government, it must itself be free from any control but that of the people themselves, and at all times responsive to their will.

In order that it should be productive of good government it must be under the leadership of men who have no selfish interests to advance and can be depended upon to act solely for the best interests of the whole people.

Can any citizen of Pennsylvania honestly say that he believes that the Republican machine will be improved in its methods or purposes no matter which of the contending factions wins?

Consider the conduct of their respective candidates.

The "Republican" (?) State candidates have surrendered their right to support the candidates of either faction of President of the United States—even the candidates of the party whose nomination they hold.

It is currently reported and believed that they privately favor the candidate of the Progressive or Washington party, but they still remain on the "Republican" ticket, although they are disloyal to its head. Benedict Arnold remained a general in the Continental army under similar conditions.

In the same way, candidates for Congress, for State Senator and State House of Representatives, have resorted to various expedients to secure and retain nominations on both

tickets, although it will be impossible to fulfill the pledges of one party without betraying those of the other.

MANIPULATION WORSE

Bad as this is the manipulation of the Electoral ticket is worse.

If it had not actually occurred, no one would have believed it possible that any public man would refuse to permit the withdrawal of candidates for Elector who declare that if elected they will not vote for the candidate of the party unless an agreement was made and perfected that no ticket should be put up against that person's candidates for State offices.

Every fair-minded man must admit that this demand is, in its very essence, corrupt.

In the first place to refuse promptly to withdraw Electoral candidates who will not, if elected, vote for the candidate of the party, is a denial of the right of the people to a proper opportunity to have the issues fairly presented to them and to vote for the candidates of their choice.

In the second place, to demand a consideration for the withdrawal, particularly a consideration which impairs the freedom of the people to promote the selection of the candidates of their choice in the manner provided by law, constitutes in itself a corrupt bargain incompatible with political honesty.

ALIKE IN METHOD

That one should make this demand and that the other should concede it, shows that there is no difference between them in political standards and methods.

The one is willing to sacrifice the right and impair the power of the State to participate in the election of President, while the other consents to an equal sacrifice in the election of State officers.

Is there any difference?

So much for the contending bosses.

But what confidence can honest people put in candidates who, in order to secure their own election, will betray the head of their ticket, sell their own citizenship and agree not to discharge the duty which that citizenship imposes upon them?

Why will not Messrs. Young and Powell declare and support their choice for President? Is it not because their silence is the price they pay to prevent opposition?

Are they in favor of Mr. Taft, the head of their ticket? If not, how can they honorably continue on it and by their presence give an implied endorsement of his candidacy? Is it not in order that they may receive votes which they could not, otherwise, obtain?

UP TO ALL CANDIDATES

The same questions confront the candidates for Congress, State Senate and State House of Representative, who are candidates on both tickets.

Moreover it is evident that they cannot fulfill the pledges of both the platforms on which they stand.

They must be false to one, but they may be false to both.

"A house divided against itself cannot stand."

There was a time when public men would not have dared to act in this manner, and we believe that it has come again.

The public conscience has been aroused. It will not tolerate such conduct.

In considering these questions, which affect them only as citizens of Pennsylvania, the people should bear in mind how important to them the offices of Auditor General and State Treasurer are.

AUDITOR GENERAL KEY

The Auditor General is the key of the Machine control of Pennsylvania.

His political power and patronage is very great—almost if not quite as great as that of the Governor.

The character of the it makes it more important to the Machine for it can be administered in secret and the story is locked up in his own books.

He can make many lucrative appointments, of which the people never hear; he adjusts all accounts, makes assessments against corporations and superintends the collection of the collateral inheritance tax.

Recent experience has shown how valuable the services of an honest, efficient and independent State Treasurer may be to the people.

Had there been such a one at Harrisburg during the building of the capital, the fraud which stains it never would have taken place.

The estimated disbursements for work on the State roads, now being made and those contemplated, are as far in excess of the actual cost of the capital as that was of its estimated cost.

MAN WITHOUT BOSS

Put a man there to look after it who has no boss but the people and no interest to serve but theirs.

In no other way can you be safe.

The candidates of the Democratic party stand on only one platform; for although the State candidates are also the candidates of the Keystone party, the policies and purposes of the two parties, so far as they concern State issues, are identical.

If elected they will have no masters save the whole people—they will be absolutely free from any dictation or control and bound only by their public pledges to the people.

The Democratic party in Pennsylvania has organized itself on a basis of absolute independence; it has made itself a firm instrument to be used by a free people in the administration of their affairs.

It has nominated candidates worthy of support and pledged them to measures and policies which deserve the approval of the people.

On this basis we confidently appeal to the people themselves.

The organization earned your respect at Harrisburg and showed at Baltimore that your confidence was deserved.

THE NAUGHTY PUPIL.—Portland Oregonian.

PASS IT ALONG

When you are through with this magazine will you kindly hand or send it to some friend or neighbor who you think is or ought to be interested.

How to Retire Flinn and Penrose

When the next legislature assembles at Harrisburg there will be a contest, and a most important one to the people of Pennsylvania. At that time there will be a "show down" as to whether the Speaker of the House will be the man selected by Bill Flinn of Pittsburg; or by Boise Penrose, the present discredited boss. This is the most important issue raised in many years in this state, and up to this time the average citizen has not realized the meaning of the selection of men to the coming session of the legislature.

This is the situation: The future political conditions in Pennsylvania depend almost entirely upon this selection. As you all know, at the last primary election the Progressive, or Bull Moose, Republicans swept the state and, for the time, unhorsed Senator Penrose, because the people were disgusted with the leadership of a man who has used the high offices bestowed upon him to play into the hands of the corporations, and has stood for everything that has been detrimental to the rule of the people.

The People Were Disgusted

Penrose has been the open and avowed champion of all that has been corrupting in public life, and has had a machine back of him that he could manipulate.

The people revolted, but the mistake they made at that time was, they put another man, Bill Flinn, to the front who has been a political crook most of his life. Bill Flinn also is a corruptionist, and recently, it is charged, tried to buy his way into the United States Senate at an open price of two million dollars. He is credited with robbing Pittsburg through rotten contracts until he has grown wealthy and can count millions, that actually belong to the people. To supplant Penrose with a man of equal disrepute is jumping from the frying pan to the fire. It means no good for Pennsylvania to have Flinn succeed Penrose.

When the legislature meets in the next session there will be an open contest for the leadership, between these two corruptionists in public life, who are a disgrace to Pennsylvania. These are well known facts that no well-informed man will, or can, successfully refute.

At the opening of the next session of the legislature the first duty will be the selection of the Speaker of the House. Penrose will have a man, and Flinn will have a candidate.

The one who is finally chosen has the power to name all the committees, and these committees will control all the appropriations, and shape the legislation in the next session.

Personal Claims Not to be Considered

It will make them the absolute political rulers in the state for several years to come.

It will put them in control of the party machinery, for the reason that they will have nearly all the state patronage at their disposal.

At that time they can easily shape the party lines so as to determine the selection of the next United States Senator from this state, which will follow in 1915, and that is a short time ahead. The selection of the next Speaker of the House will absolutely determine the fate of either Penrose or Flinn for United States Senator of this great state. The Lord knows that the average citizen hopes that neither of these discredited, corrupt politicians be granted that high honor—Pennsylvania deserves something better.

For these reasons we consider that the personal claims of legislative and senatorial candidates should have little consideration in this campaign. It is the public that is to be considered. Public interests and the welfare of the state are the sole issues. Here a serious proposition arises, and we want every voter to grasp the importance of voting right. The question is:

Do the people of Pennsylvania want Boise Penrose or his rival, Bill Flinn, to be the next United States Senator from Pennsylvania and the future dictator over the Republican party and this state? Or, do they favor a better, cleaner representative, a higher type of citizen, for this important position?

Flinnism poses as the Progressive Republican party and, in its platform, unqualifiedly denounces Taft and Penrose; the movement was organized in this state for that purpose. Flinn is a shrewd politician who saw that the Republican party and the people were ready to repudiate Taft and Penrose in Pennsylvania, and they did so at the primaries by decided majorities.

Demand Pledges From Candidates

The man who goes to the next legislature is commissioned to REPRESENT THE PEOPLE, and not to advance his own political fortunes. It is his duty to PLAINLY, FRANKLY, HONESTLY, and **POSITIVELY,** tell the people what his position **NOW** is, on this question. More important:

What he will do if elected regarding Penrose or Flinn, the corruptionists.

With such an issue before us, we insist it is due the people that all candidates for the legislature **NOW** pledge themselves as to what they will do if elected.

Legislators are chosen and paid to carry out your wishes at Harrisburg, and not to do as they please when they go there—that is the basis of a representative form of Government such as we should have, but seldom secure, all because the people do not compel candidates to pledge themselves on important issues.

That there shall be no misunderstanding upon this subject put the questions to and demand answers from the candidates of all parties. The answers may be made through the columns of the newspapers. To this end we submit the following form:

Demand Positive Pledges

From All Legislative and Senatorial Candidates This Year.

To the Candidates for Senator and Representative in the Legislature:

GENTLEMEN:—The columns of this newspaper are hereby extended to each of you, free of charge, to state to the Voters of this District or County, over your signature, what policy you will pursue, if elected, to-wit:

Do you endorse Boise Penrose's political career?

Do you approve Boise Penrose's record as U. S. Senator?

Would you vote for Boise Penrose's selection for next Speaker of the House in General Assembly of Pennsylvania; or would you support William Flinn's selection for same office in preference?

Would you co-operate with Boise Penrose or Wm. Flinn on political and public measures?

Any reasonable reply confined to the above interrogations will be published in our next issue.

FUSION HAPPILY EFFECTED

Keystone Party Nominees Withdraw in Favor of Berry and Cresswell.

By voluntarily retiring from the Keystone party ticket in favor of Robert E. Cresswell, Democratic candidate, Cornelius D. Scully, Jr., of Pittsburg, Keystone candidate for Auditor General, paved the way for complete fusion on the State ticket between the two parties, which was accomplished by the action of the Keystone State committee on Thursday, September 26, in Philadelphia. Upon motion of D. Clarence Gibboney, seconded by Mr. Scully, Mr. Cresswell was unanimously nominated on the Keystone ticket.

Mr. Scully's retirement from the ticket followed long negotiations between the leaders of the Keystone and Democratic parties, in an effort to bring about fusion by mutual concessions of places on the two tickets. The efforts proved fruitless, and, rather than obstruct in the slightest degree a united fight against the Flinn machine in the coming election, Mr. Scully sent his declination of the Keystone nomination to the Secretary of the Commonwealth. While it is not certain that the office of Auditor General will be filled at the coming election, in view of the adoption of recent amendments to the Constitution, Mr. Scully's action is regarded as a notable boost to the Democratic nominees in the approaching contest.

Only Way to End Bossism

Mr. Scully's letter to the Keystone committee, announcing his withdrawal, follows:

"Some two years ago the Keystone party was organized to free the State of Pennsylvania from the domination of a bi-partisan ring. There is no doubt that the great progress which has been made in that direction has been contributed to by the Keystone party more than by any other one influence in recent years.

"However, no person conversant with the present movement within the Republican State organization can fail to see that in the name of reform an attempt is now being made to change bosses and maintain the same political organization which has been the subject of the Keystone party's attacks for two years past.

"While convinced that more would have been gained by a Keystone-Democratic fusion in which the Keystone representation was equal to that of the Democratic party, I cannot but feel that my duty under the present circumstances is to withdraw as a candidate for the position of Auditor General, lest in any way, however slight, I should contribute, by detracting votes from the Democratic candidate, to the election of a Republican candidate who pays lip service to a retiring boss, real fealty to a coming one and avows loyalty, regardless of bosses, to a political Machine which the Keystone party was organized to oppose.

National Issues Not Involved

"The triumph of the cause in Pennsylvania is a question entirely apart from the election of candidates for Congressman-at-large. In voting for a candidate for Auditor General the national test cannot be applied under any circumstances. The independent who desires to strike a blow at boss control in Pennsylvania, whether it be brazenly flaunted or poorly concealed, need not hesitate to use as his weapon a man who may entertain opposite views on national questions but who in the test of 1910 proved himself to be a loyal Keystoner.

"I decline the nomination for Auditor General and second the nomination of Mr. Cresswell to take my place on the Keystone ticket simply because his nomination is the only means to the end so much desired by those who appreciate the real situation in Pennsylvania to-day—that is the coincident defeat of Boss Penrose and Boss Flinn."

COMMENTS ON THE EVENT

From the Philadelphia Public Ledger (Independent):

"The Keystone State committee has now given the final proof of the sincerity of its recent efforts for fusion by withdrawing the Keystone candidate for Auditor General and substituting the name of Robert E. Cresswell, the Democratic nominee. The path is thus cleared for an aggressive campaign for the overthrow of both the Republican factions. Just what strength the Keystone party might be able to muster at the polls in November, as a separate organization, is altogether problematical, but if its achievements at the last State election be taken as a criterion, it is a political force not to be lightly disregarded. By fusion with the Democrats, however, on the offices of State Treasurer and Auditor General all uncertainty is removed, and a new and important field of usefulness is opened to the Keystone organization which may exercise a potent influence in insuring the election of Berry and Cresswell.

"The State ticket this year is extremely important, for *the Flinn-controlled ticket*, which will appear on the official ballot as representing both Republican and Washington parties, *is not entitled to the support of consistent Republicans.* Its triumph will mean the creation of a new State political machine no less discreditable than the Penrose machine which it aims to displace, but which will carry the added stigma of gross hypocrisy. While its success will undoubtedly involve, for the time being, the defeat of Penrose, *the substitution of Flinn and his satellites is not an alternative which genuine Republicans can view with any satisfaction.* Still there have been many who hesitated to risk their party standing by taking the only logical means of rejecting both alternatives—namely, by voting for the Democratic candidates.

"In this emergency the Keystone party has patriotically placed itself in a position to perform a great public service. It is recognized as the rallying ground for the independent voters of the State, and by taking the Democratic ticket for State officers it maintains this position of neutrality. *Republicans* who still value the name of party regularity, but revolt against supporting either Penrose or Flinn, *can vote their presidential preference, yet at the same time vote in the Keystone column for the State candidates without affecting their standing in the old party.* This should insure the unity of the independent thinking voters of Pennsylvania in support of Berry and Cresswell, whose election is the only certain method of defeating the schemes of the Flinn plotters without thereby inviting a return of the Penrose machine."

From the Philadelphia Record:

"The move will add to the prospects of the defeat of the Republican State ticket and the election of Mr. Berry as State Treasurer and Mr. Cresswell as Auditor General.

"Now that the Democrats and Keystoners are together on a State ticket they *should continue the good work by uniting on the same candidates for the Legislature* in every district in Pennsylvania. With such a union the members of the next Legislature will be beyond the control of either the old Republican machine or the new one, and the prospects for the passage of the legislation so badly needed to permanently redeem the State will be assured. We feel sure our Democratic brethren are open to negotiations to this end, and their representatives and those of the Keystone party should lose no time in perfecting the details of complete fusion in the Legislative and Senatorial districts."

From the Harrisburg Patriot:

"The purpose for which the Keystone party was formed was to free the State from the control of selfish bosses and corrupt political machines. Great progress has been made in that direction during the last two years. The Penrose machine has been put out of control, but if Mr. Flinn shall succeed in his purpose to perpetuate his own rule, the Penrose machine will be succeeded by another, in no respect any better. The Keystone party has taken a long step towards putting both of these machines out of power and placing the control of the State government in the hands of the people to whom it belongs."

Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard, Supports Woodrow Wilson

Charles W. Eliot, president emeritus of Harvard University, in a statement issued September 30th, set forth reasons why he favors the election of Woodrow Wilson for President, and in discussing the candidates and issues of the campaign declares Roosevelt a dangerous man, many of whose political theories are fraught with peril to the nation. President Eliot's statement says:

"The three candidates are to be distinguished as follows: President Taft is protectionist and conservative on all constitutional and legal matters, ex-President Roosevelt is obscurely protectionist and radical on constitutional and judicial issues, Governor Wilson advocates the immediate reduction of the high tariff rates and moderation in constitutional, political and industrial changes.

"The tariff issue in the present campaign is clearly defined. President Taft holds firmly to the theory and practice of protection, and that portion of the Republican party which gives him some measure of support is protectionist in practice. The citizen who believes, as I do, that *the existing tariff* prevents the expansion of American commerce and trade, protects manufacturing industries from the foreign competition which would be wholesome for them, *supports artificial monopolies, raises the price of many necessaries of life and keeps the country as a whole exporting the richness of its soil rather than the products of its skilled labor can hardly vote for President Taft*, however much he may wish to do so because of respect for his character, resentment at the injustice with which he has been treated and liking for his conservatism.

"*The Democratic party*, judged by its history and its recent action, *seems likely* under its new leaders *to accomplish a judicious and effective reduction in tariff rates*, and indeed is pledged to do so, so far as its platform and the words of its candidates can pledge it.

PROGRESSIVES CANNOT BE TRUSTED

"*The Progressive party, on the other hand, cannot be trusted to deal wisely with the tariff*, because its membership is mainly drawn from the former Republican party, which is responsible for the existing tariff and for failure to reduce it, and because its platform is about as protectionist as the Republican. Moreover, its candidate, *ex-President Roosevelt, has never shown any acquaintance with tariff questions*, any interest in them or any comprehension of the disastrous effects of the tariff on American industries and on the prices of the necessaries of life to consumers. His present utterances on the subject are contradictory and vague, and yet likely to mislead the farmers, mechanics and operatives from whom he asks votes.

FULL OF DIFFICULTIES AND DANGERS

"The platforms of all three parties are much alike in promising a large number of social and industrial reforms, many of them long known to be desirable, but some *full of difficulties and dangers*. The Progressive party contains numerous social workers, ministers, young political reformers and other disinterested persons of unquestionable patriotism who think they can further their various philanthropic purposes by utilizing the energy and popularity of Theodore Roosevelt. It also contains men and women who warmly admire Mr. Roosevelt's private character and public career and accept his proffered leadership with enthusiastic devotion.

"It is over these social and industrial reforms that strong differences of opinion have arisen concerning the right ways of dealing with the obstacles which Constitution, courts and laws have placed in the pathway of militant reformers; hence the grave constitutional and legal issues in the present election.

"Since all social changes have industrial and political consequences, social reforms, like industrial, can be safely effected only by the method of cautious experiment with adequate notice and not by the sudden, impetuous rush of an emotional multitude. The education of a new generation is often needed to give such reforms satisfactory effect.

"The Democratic party's platform and candidates, while less conservative than the Republican, hold out more hope or expectation of a wise dealing with the reforms proposed than the Progressive party's do. In particular, the published sayings of Gov. Wilson are much more prudent and measured in regard to the proposed changes than those of ex-President Roosevelt. Indeed, Gov. Wilson's temperament, knowledge and experience fit him to deal wisely, as President of the United States, with all these philanthropic projects.

"The coming troublous years will call for *fairness, sober judgment and quiet resolution* in the executive head of the Government. *Gov. Wilson's career gives many indications that he possesses these qualities.* Through thirty years of public life *ex-President Roosevelt has proved to the American people that these are not his characteristics.*

ROOSEVELT TOO IMPULSIVE

"Far the greater part of the social and industrial improvements which the three national parties seem to contemplate—though not in equal number—can be effected by the Central Government only by a dangerous stretching or evading of constitutional provisions, since they lie within the jurdisdiction of the several states.

"The National Executive, therefore, at this particular juncture ought not to be an impulsive, self-confident, *headstrong man, impatient of restraints* and oppostion and given to the use of extravagant language. *Such a man is ex-President Roosevelt*, as both his friends and his foes well know. He also exhibits from time to time a fondness for taking risks and a willingness to use force, which would not be bad signs in an energetic youth but are alarming in a mature statesman.

FLOUTING THE CONSTITUTION

"The candidate of the Progressive party has shown himself capable, while in power, of taking grave public action—which of course seemed to him wise and right—in *disregard of constitutional and legal limitations*, and, while out of power, of *proposing rash changes* in the relations of the judiciary to the other departments of the Government and to the voters.

"Finally, at the forthcoming election the people are called upon to express, not directly but by implication, their opinion on another constitutional change—the question of a third term in the Presidency. It is ex-President Roosevelt and the Progressve party that have sprung this important question upon the voters. Fortunately, the issue is clearly joined between the Democratic party, which declares for a single term, and the Progressive party, which has nominated a man who has already held the Presidential office for seven years and a half.

THIRD TERM IS DANGEROUS

"In all probability to give any one a third term in the Presidency, either with or without an interval between terms, would be an undesirable precedent. All observant citizens know that in the cases of Presidents Roosevelt and Taft, preparations for securing a second term impaired the efficiency

and dignity of the President in the last year of his first term. Every Presidential campaign ought to furnish the whole country with a valuable lesson in good manners, fair discussion, sound reasoning and loyalty to ideals. It would be more likely to do so if the President in power could have no ambitions to be gratified and no personal claims on his party or the country.

ROOSEVELT PECULIARLY UNFIT

"In order, however, to arrive at the conclusion that it is not best to give ex-President Roosevelt a third term it is not necessary to discuss broadly the question of the best limit for Presidential service. It is enough to say that *ex-President Roosevelt is a personage peculiarly unfit to be placed for a third time in the Presidential office*, because he loves power, ardently desires to exercise the President's power again, and has procured his own nomination by direct personal effort at the cost of splitting the party to which he owed his previous opportunities for a high political career. To these facts frank sayings of Mr. Roosevelt himself abundantly testify.

"Moreover, ex-President Roosevelt has lately contributed by untimely criticisms, couched in intemperate language, to the defeat of the invaluable arbitration treaties of the United States with Great Britain and France, drawn by the Taft Administration, which would have made war between these countries well-nigh impossible. Holding the opinions he has often expressed about the beneficial effects of war on the individual and on society, he can manifestly be only a half-hearted believer in the judicial settlement of international disputes, and would probably prove a dangerous President should questions of war arise. Yet international arbitration, justice and peace have long been and are emphatically to-day noble policies of the United States.

BEST TO VOTE FOR WILSON AND MARSHALL.

"Second and third terms may or may not be expedient on general principles, but this particular proposal for a third term is unquestionably inexpedient.

"These considerations have brought me to the conclusion that IT IS BEST TO VOTE FOR WILSON AND MARSHALL AT THE FORTHCOMING ELECTION."

"THE FROST IS ON THE PUMPKIN AND THE FODDER'S IN THE SHOCK."—Pittsburg Post.

Cause of High Cost of Living.

[*From the Democratic platform of 1912.*]

The high cost of living is a serious problem in every American home. The Republican party, in its platform, attempts to escape from responsibility for present conditions by denying that they are due to a protective tariff. We take issue with them on this subject and charge that excessive prices resulted in a large measure from the high tariff laws enacted and maintained by the Republican party and from trusts and commercial conspiracies fostered and encouraged by such laws, and we assert that no substantial relief can be secured for the people until import duties on the necessaries of life are materially reduced and these criminal conspiracies broken up.

PASS IT ALONG

When you are through with this magazine will you kindly hand or send it to some friend or neighbor who you think is or ought to be interested.

Frank Presbrey, of New York, who was a member of Woodrow Wilson's class at Princeton, was telling a story the other night at the Lotus Club, which, in view of the nomination of Mr. Wilson for President, is of particular interest.

He said that during Freshman year, a number of his classmates were sitting in his room and discussing the great future in store for them. Someone remarked, during the course of the talk, "There is no telling but that we have a future President of the United States in our class."

The crowd agreed that if anybody was going to be President, it would probably be one of four men. One of those named left college before the end of the course and nothing much has ever been heard of him, another has made a moderate success in life, the third, Mahlon H. Pitney, is now a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and the fourth was Woodrow Wilson, now the Democratic nominee.

For President:
WOODROW WILSON
of New Jersey.

For Vice President:
THOMAS RILEY MARSHALL
of Indiana.

STATE TICKET

Auditor General:
ROBERT E. CRESSWELL
of Cambria.

State Treasurer:
WILLIAM H. BERRY
of Delaware.

Congressmen-At-Large:
JOSEPH HOWLEY
of Allegheny.

E. E. GREENAWALT
of Lancaster.

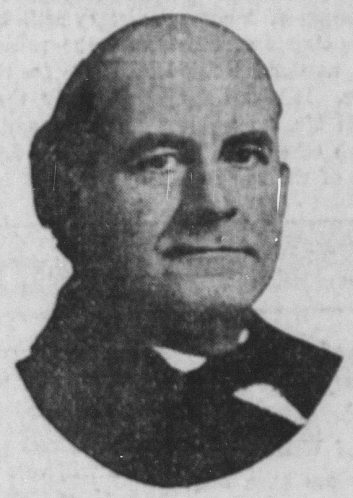
GEORGE R. McLEAN
of Luzerne.

GEORGE B. SHAW
of Westmoreland.

WILSON WILL WIN

THE TAFT-ROOSEVELT FEUD

By WILLIAM J. BRYAN



That there is a natural and inevitable division in the Republican party is evident to all. It is in its essentials like the division which took place in the Democratic party sixteen years ago, and is in fact, a result of the stubborn fight made by the Democratic party agninst the predatory interests. In the beginning, the democracy lost permanently the aristocratic and plutocratic elements of the party, and it lost temporarily many who did not understand the real character of the struggle. In the course of sixteen years those have returned who were misled—those whose mistake was of the head rather than of the heart—and the party is now practically united. A few representatives of the favor-seeking class still call themselves Democrats, but among the rank and file of the party there is entire harmony—they are militantly progressive.

The Republican party, even before 1896, had a much larger percentage than the Democratic party had of those who profited by privilege or were in sympathy with those who were the beneficiaries of governmental favoritism. After 1896 the percentage was still greater because the worst of the Democratic party went over to the opposition.

The same great wave of reform, however, that created the Populist party and thus aroused the Democratic party to resistance to the plunderbund's program has now stirred the Republican party to its very depths. But here the parallel ends. The progressives won their fight in the Democratic party and though once since then the organization has fallen into the hands of Wall street the mass of the party has left no doubt as to its fidelity to the people's side of the questions at issue. But in the Republican party the result was different; the Wall street element retained control of the party machinery and nominated the ticket. It is true that the methods employed were indefensible but Mr. Roosevelt could not well complain because he had employed the same methods four years before to nominate the man of his choice.

The second difference between the Democratic situation sixteen years ago and the Republican situation now is that the fight in the Democratic party was waged entirely on principle, while personalities have played a large part in the Republican contest. In 1896 the gold Democrats, after being defeated in the convention, put up a separate ticket, but there was no charge of "fraud" or "theft," and there was no personal feeling between the gold ticket and the regular Democratic ticket. In the Republican party, however, the contest over principles is almost lost sight of in the feud which has developed between President Taft and ex-President Roosevelt. Nothing like it has ever been seen in American politics and, for the sake of the nation's reputation abroad, let us hope that nothing like it may ever be seen again.

Mr. Roosevelt, when President, took up Mr. Taft and made him the nominee of his party, using the patronage of his high office to accomplish his purpose. He then violated precedent by the extraordinary activity which he manifested in behalf of his candidate. Mr. Taft won, and from subsequent developments it is quite certain that he understood that he was to have the office for two terms, and that Mr. Roosevelt was then to be a candidate again. Mr. Roosevelt's son-in-law inadvertently intimated as much during the campaign of 1908. But it seems that, for some reason—some think because of pride and ingratitude, others believe as a result of promises made for him during the campaign—but for some reason, Mr. Taft cast Mr. Roosevelt off and failed to consult him about the formation of his cabinet. Such conduct upon the part of one so obligated as Mr. Taft was is hard to account for, and Mr. Roosevelt is not the man to bear such a slight in silence. He evidently felt that Mr. Taft's violation of the implied agreement released him, and since his return from Africa his chief ambition seems to be to prevent the President's re-election. Whatever may have been the cause of Mr. Taft's change of front it is natural that his anger should be aroused by Mr. Roosevelt's biting accusation. He has, however, gone far beyond what might have been expected from one of his disposition. The speeches made by him and Mr. Roosevelt in the contest for delegates pained the friends of both—so lacking were they in the dignity that is supposed to attach to the highest office in the land. The newspapers in foreign lands have used the speeches made by the President and by the former occupant of the White House as a basis for the comparisons unfavorable to republics.

At the convention the interests of the party were lost sight of and each side seemed more anxious to win out against the other than for the success of the party or for the triumph of any set of principles. Usually when feeling is excited between two candidates the party puts them both aside and takes some one who has not aroused antagonisms, but Mr. Taft was not willing to stand aside and Mr. Roosevelt was not willing to compromise on any other Progressive. So we have this pot and kettle campaign. While Mr. Roosevelt's friends condemn Mr. Taft for ignoring the ex-President and his close friends, the supporters of Mr. Taft point out that Mr. Roosevelt, instead of seeking to make the President's administration a success, laid in wait for sins of omission and commission. Thus the situation went from bad to worse and the two men, once bosom friends, have become implacable enemies, and the voters of a great party are unable to consider campaign issues on their merits.

"Did Mr. Taft treat Mr. Roosevelt fairly?" and "Did Mr. Roosevelt act justly toward Mr. Taft?"—These questions absorb attention to the overshadowing of principles and policies. Had some pioneer reformer like Senator La Follette been pitted against Mr. Taft the line could have been drawn with clearness and the contest could have been conducted without resort to personalities, but it is difficult to make a definite issue between Mr. Taft and Mr. Roosevelt when Mr. Taft is now what Mr. Roosevelt was until very recently, and Mr. Roosevelt is now what Mr. Taft, as the Progressive Republicans insist, promised to be! It would be unfortunate for the Republican party for either Mr. Taft or Mr. Roosevelt to be elected; it would simply continue the feud—as bitter as any blood feud among mountaineers. If both are defeated the party can be reorganized and made useful as one of the great parties of the country. If both are defeated each side will be satisfied—it will have won half a victory and reconciliation will be possible along reform lines.

The Republican party can not hope to rival the Democratic party as a reform party—it will remain, relatively speaking, the conservative party, but one defeat will make it progressive enough to draw back most of those who now follow Mr. Roosevelt's standard. The Republican party is not going to fall to pieces, as the more sanguine members of the new party seem to think. There is little difference between Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Taft except as to leadership, and leaders can be changed more easily when we secure presidential primaries. On essentials Mr. Taft and Mr. Roosevelt are not far apart. They agree on the tariff; if either one will write out his views on the subject the other will have no difficulty in indorsing them. They both take the side of the trusts against the people,

and the trust magnates are divided between them. They agree in applauding the decision of the Supreme court emasculating the criminal clause of the anti-trust law. They both favor imperialism and they both prefer national to state remedies. They equally owe their elevation to office to the "bosses" and to the funds contributed by predatory interests—funds contributed for the purpose of securing a continuation of favors; and they have been equally partial toward the claims of contributors. The chief point of difference on national issues seems to be that they both want the same office. It would not be difficult for men who think as Mr. Taft and Mr. Roosevelt do to get together but for their hatred of each other. There are many earnest men, however, in both wings of the Republican party who want reforms; some still expect to secure these reforms through the regular organization, others have joined the new party with the hope of securing them more speedily. Both of these groups can consistently support Governor Wilson, who stands for all the reforms for which the people are now ready. If he is elected, as now seems almost certain, his victory will be regarded as a triumph for progressive ideas, and the reforms which will come through him will make it possible for the people to rule.

Surely the Republicans who have profited, as both Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Taft have, by dissensions in the Democratic party, can not complain if the Democrats profit temporarily by the split in the Republican party.

The Trend Is Towards Wilson

From various sources, and from all parts of the country comes news that should cheer the heart of every loyal Democrat. The New York *Herald's* first straw vote, taken in 11 states, indicates a strong sentiment in favor of Wilson. The political forecasts of the *Herald* for many years have been regarded the most reliable, and invariably, in former Presidential campaigns, were verified by the official vote with remarkable accuracy. The *Herald* says in part:

"With the Republican party from one end of the country to the other torn asunder by the activities of the Bull Moose candidate, and with the Democrats working in complete, almost blissful harmony, indications at the present time—36 days before election—point to Democratic victory at the polls in November. * * *

"It is a further important notation also that the reports of practically all the correspondents agree. Some of them intimate that conditions are gradually changing—that President Taft is gaining here, that Governor Wilson is losing there—but the majority of the reports indicate that the DEMOCRACY at the present time IS AWAY IN THE LEAD."

The *Herald* figures, summarized by states, appear elsewhere on this page.

WILSON WILL CARRY THE WEST

A correspondent of the New York *Times*, who made the trip with the Colonel and who reports him as confident that he will win, has summed up the situation carefully, gathering his impressions through personal interviews with men of all parties in the various states. His conclusions point irresistibly to a victory for Wilson in many of the states, though the division of the Republican vote and the probability that many Taft and LaFollette supporters will cast their ballots for Wilson, in order to make sure of the defeat of Roosevelt. Some of the conclusions at which the correspondent arrived follow:

In every one of these states except Utah (there the Mormons have endorsed Taft) *Taft is out of the race and will run an extremely bad third.*

In most of them Wilson is well in the lead.

In states where LaFollette is strong numbers of LaFollette men will vote for Wilson.

In the other states many Taft men will vote for Wilson, and in some states, such as Nebraska, virtually the whole Taft vote is turning toward the Democratic candidate.

As a general rule, however, he (Roosevelt) seems to draw most of his support from the Republican party, and if this condition continues this split among the Republicans will give Wilson most of the states so far traversed.

BLYTHE'S FORECAST

Samuel G. Blythe, than whom there is no better informed political writer in the country, recently made a personal survey of political conditions, especially in the Western states. In an article printed in the *Saturday Evening Post* Mr. Blythe makes the following very significant observations:

"However, after visiting Washington, Oregon, California, Utah, Nevada, Idaho, Wyoming, Montana, Kansas, Colorado, Nebraska and Iowa some aspects of the situation are reasonably clear to me as this is written in the last week in August.

"Those Taft men who hope that any considerable number of conservative Democrats will vote for Taft, and in a way offset the loss to the Republican party through the defection to Roosevelt, have no substantial basis for that hope.

"Those Wilson men who are convinced that a large number of the old-line Republicans *will vote for Wilson in order to make the protest against Roosevelt most effective* are right.

"Those people who contend that this is a fight between Roosevelt and Wilson, *with Taft hopelessly out of it, at this time, have an adequate conception of the circumstances.*

"Superficially, as a mere matter of political mathematics, it would seem and does seem that WILSON IS MOST LIKELY TO BE ELECTED."

SUMMARY OF THE HERALD'S VOTE

	Will Vote in 1912				*How They Voted in 1908*			*Net Rep. Loss from 1908*	*Net Dem. Gain over 1908*	*Net Soc. Gain over 1908*
	Taft	*Roosevelt*	*Wilson*	*Debs*	*Taft*	*Bryan*	*Debs*			
New York State	583	1,011	1,147	132	1,390	635	73	807	512	59
Connecticut	85	127	96	50	186	45	27	101	51	23
Delaware	266	381	927	96	527	474	51	261	453	45
New Jersey	245	300	477	102	508	257	47	263	220	55
Pennsylvania	543	573	567	34	1,103	580	22	560	—13	12
Maryland	48	126	193	10	158	106	6	110	87	4
Ohio	942	818	1,914	492	2,057	1,386	492	1,115	528	0
Indiana	891	1,711	2,100	620	2,341	1,935	620	1,450	165	0
Kentucky	773	1,452	2,764	115	1,573	2,665	117	800	99	—2
West Virginia	232	530	775	115	566	701	115	334	74	0
Wyoming	176	118	204	34	372	126	34	196	78	0
Grand Total	4,784	7,147	11,164	1,800	10,781	8,910	1,604	5,997	2,254	196

PASS IT ALONG

When you are through with this magazine will you kindly hand or send it to some friend or neighbor who you think is or ought to be interested.

There is no indispensable man. The government will not collapse and go to pieces if any one of the gentlemen who are seeking to be entrusted with its guidance should be left at home. We are as important as the cause we represent, and in order to be important must really represent a cause.—*Woodrow Wilson.*

Eighty per cent. of the entire country believe in the historic DEMOCRACY OF THOMAS JEFFERSON.—*Thomas R. Marshall.*

The Workingman's Tribute to Protective Greed

By BYRON W. HOLT.

(Chairman of the Tariff Reform Committee of the Reform Club.)

With the higher tariff duties of the Dingley bill, in 1897, and the era of trusts and higher prices (at home) that then began, the practice of selling goods at lower prices for export grew more rapidly with our growing export trade. So dictatorial in fixing high prices at home and so bold in selling their products at greatly reduced prices to foreigners had the protected Steel trusts become in 1900 that even the McKinley high-tariff administration got frightened at the extent of these vicious practices and decided to issue an official warning to the trusts. This was done in a special article on iron and steel in the report of the Bureau of Statistics on commerce and finance for August, 1900.

The McKinley administration virtually "read the riot act" to the bold steel combinations that were playing fast and loose with American consumers. The steel manufacturers were told that their policy of selling goods at lower prices to foreigners was short-sighted and would, if continued, surely result in the removal of all tariff duties. It especially blamed the American Steel and Wire Company for advancing its home prices from $1.35 to $3.20 in the course of a year, and the steel companies for selling rails at Pittsburg for $35 a ton for home consumption while the foreign consumer was purchasing them for $22 to $24 a ton.

As we know, these warnings went unheeded. In 1901 the greatest of all steel trusts was formed. This trust immediately enlarged its export trade. Its policy has been to "charge abroad what we can get," as was stated by its first president, Charles M. Schwab, to the Ways and Means committee in 1908. Its foreign prices have always been (at least until 1911) far below its home prices. The average foreign price on all exported products has been about $30, as against $40 for the same products in the domestic market. That is, up to last year the Steel trust, through the tariff, forced American consumers of steel to pay 30 per cent. more than it charged foreign consumers.

Buying in Dearest Market

To retain the allegiance of the few workers who favor protective tariffs and to win the allegiance of those who now vote for lower duties the protectionists must show them HOW it pays them to buy goods and tools in the dearest market and sell their labor in the cheapest market to which employers can force them.

Here are typical advantages, or "high price blessings," for builders, masons, carpenters, mechanics and miners in Protection's dearest market, as discovered by our "export agent:"

A Cheney adze-eye hammer made in Little Falls, N. Y., costs the American carpenter a sixth more than the price at which the Henry Cheney Company finds it profitable to sell the same hammer for export to the English carpenter, who votes for no protective duties.

For his hand and rip saws, made by the National Saw Company in Newark, N. J., the American carpenter pays 36 per cent. more than the price to the Canadian carpenter.

A mortising machine made by the W. F. & John Barnes Company in Rockford, Ill., costs the American builder who favors tariff for revenue only, as well as the deluded protectionist, 21 per cent. more than the export price of the same article to any builder beyond the country's boundaries. The American apprentice who buys a scroll saw from this company also has to pay 21 per cent. more than it sells for abroad.

An eight-horse power Geiser stationary gasoline engine made in Waynesboro, Pa., costs the American builder, even if he can get it at wholesale, $403.75, while for export it sells for $332.50. The same discrimination of 22 per cent. in favor of the foreign purchaser applies to this company's gasoline pump at $10.50 for export and $12.75 for home use.

Tax on Workingman's Tools

Plumbs and levels (30 inches) made by the National Saw Company, Newark, N. J., cost 37 per cent. more; their plastering trowels (11 inches) 30 per cent. more and their brick trowels 35 per cent. more to Americans than they charge for export.

"Protection" for the American working man is placed at 45 per cent. on these tools for earning a living. Where the protection for the workingman comes in no one but the manufacturers of the protected articles can see, and they can see it clearly enough to contribute generously to the campaign fund of the Republican party and to leagues working for high protective tariffs.

The domestic price of a machinist's vise No. 72, manufactured by the Prentiss Vise Company at Watertown, N. Y., is 21 per cent. higher than the export price. This company charges wholesale the American mechanic $9 for its combination pipe vise No. 712, which it sells for export for $6.

Machinists' hammers (two pounds) manufactured by the Henry Cheney Hammer Company of Little Falls, N. Y., cost machinists here $1.51, nearly one-third more than the export price per dozen.

Coe's Wrench Company at Worcester, Mass., charges machinists for some wrenches an advance of 25 per cent. over their export price. The price of their

SAMPLES OF "BENEFITS" HANDED TO THE "PROTECTED" MECHANIC

Prices quoted to the Tariff Reform Committee's "export agent:"

	—Wholesale Price— Export.	Domestic.	Excess charged American consumer as cost of "protection."			Payne-Aldrich duty— Per ct.
Combination pipe vise No. 712..	$ 6.00	$ 9.00	$ 3.00	equals	50%	45
Plumbs and levels, 30-in. (doz.)	6.84	9.36	2.52	"	37%	45
Geiser stationary 8 h. p. gasoline engine	332.50	403.75	71.25	"	22%	45
Geiser gasoline pump.....	10.50	12.75	2.25	"	21%	45
Machine bolts, ½x7 (per 100)...	1.40	1.94	.54	"	38%	*
Brick trowels, 8-inch (doz.)....	5.90	8.05	2.15	"	36%	45
Barnes scroll saw No. 7.....	10.50	12.75	2.25	"	21%	25
Mortising machine, foot.....	14.00	17.00	3.00	"	21%	45
Richardson hack saw (doz.)....	1.38	1.88	.50	"	36%	25
Hand and rip saws, 26-in. (doz.)	11.55	15.75	4.20	"	36%	25
Iron horse shoes (cwt.).....	3.20	4.10	.90	"	28%	Pr.lb. ¾c
Cheney's adze eye hammers, 1½-lb. (doz.)	4.76	5.58	.82	"	17%	45
Ames cast steel shovels (doz.)..	10.50	12.00	1.50	"	15%	45
Collins contractors' picks (doz.)	8.10	9.00	.90	"	11%	45
Branson knitting machine, 72 needles	19.00	22.50	3.50	"	19%	45

*1¼c. pound.

knife handle wrench (ten inch) and of their steel-handle wrench is a quarter higher to the American machinist than they offer these tools for export.

Machine bolts, large and small, manufactured by the Columbus Bolt Works at Columbus, O., cost the American purchaser 40 per cent. more than the export price.

Miner and Blacksmith

The miner doesn't escape protection's levy merely because his work is difficult, dangerous and underpaid. Collins coal picks, stone picks and mattocks, long cutters, cost the coal miner 11 per cent. more than the export price of these same tools. The moulder, too, pays for his Blair moulder's spade, made by the Oliver Ames & Sons Corporation at North Easton, Mass., a fifth more than its export price.

Excavators and horseshoers are no exception to protection's rule; "Wherever a workingman, whether employer or employe, can be soaked with high prices, SOAK HIM, but TALK HIGH WAGES."

The Oliver Ames & Sons Corporation of North Easton, Mass., charges American excavators $12 a dozen for Ames cast steel shovel "D" handles, $12.75 a dozen for long handle cast steel shovels, and $9.50 for A. Lee shovels, "D" handles, in all three cases 15 per cent. more than the export price.

The Henry Cheney Hammer Company of Little Falls, N. Y., charges horseshoers a fifth more than their export price for farriers' hammers, while the United States Horseshoe Company, at Erie, Pa., also makes horseshoers here pay a fifth more than its export price for steel horseshoes, and nearly a third more than its export price for iron horseshoes.

Plumber Taught to Charge

The National Saw Company, located at Newark, N. J., charges the American plumber for his 16-inch saws $6.32 a

MADE IN NEWARK, N.J.
SOLD TO FOREIGNERS FOR $11.55 A DOZEN
SOLD TO AMERICANS FOR $15.75 A DOZEN
DESCRIMINATION 36%
"PROTECTIVE" DUTY. 25%

dozen at wholesale, 37 per cent. more than its export price. Shall we blame the plumber for doing as he is done, or teach him better and help ourselves by not letting him be done out of two-fifths more than his tools are worth—through repealing protective duties?

The American carriage maker pays $4.05 for a thousand Eagle tire bolts ¼x2 inches, at wholesale, instead of $2.90, the export price, or 40 per cent. more, and a third more for Eagle carriage bolts, made by the Columbus Bolt Company in Ohio.

The widow who strives to support her children by knitting hose with Branson's knitting machine, made by the Branson Machine Company in Philadelphia, must pay, even if she gets the wholesale price, $22.50 for her machine, nearly a fifth more than the export price of $19, and this $3.50 means more than the widow's mite to her. A vote for high protective duties is a vote to rob widows in more ways than one.

Cheaper tools and machinery lessen the cost of production and make cheaper costs possible.

Protectionists *claim* they want to protect American wage earners against cheap labor and cheap production abroad, yet last year American manufacturers exported over $110,000,000 worth of machinery and tools, most of this at lower prices than those charged Americans, and they so wilfully helped foreign competitors to produce more cheaply than Americans. We exported $8,167,517 worth of tools and $1,137,787 worth of saws in 1911, but the prohibitive duty kept us from importing any tools.

The total value of machines and machinery imported in 1911 was $7,318,630, on which the average duty was 40.77 per cent.

MADE IN WORCESTER, MASS.
EXPORT PRICE PER DOZEN $4.36
HOME PRICE 23% MORE $5.40
DISCRIMINATION AGAINST AMERICAN PURCHASER $1.04
"PROTECTIVE" DUTY 45%

To the Yachting Girl.

For me the sweep of the flowing deep,
  When the spindrift whirls a-lee.
With a maiden sweet at the helm and sheet,
  And her head for the open sea.

—*New York Herald.*

From Wilson's Speech of Acceptance.

Our domestic markets no longer suffice. We need foreign markets. That is another force that is going to break the tariff down. The tariff was once a bulwark; now it is a dam. For trade is reciprocal; we cannot sell unless we also buy.—*Woodrow Wilson.*

We need no revolution; we need no excited change; we need only a new point of view and a new method and spirit of counsel.—*Woodrow Wilson.*

No group of directors, economic or political, can speak for a people.—*Woodrow Wilson.*

Government has much more to do than merely to set the house in order.—*Woodrow Wilson.*

NO WHIRLWIND TOUR.

He isn't engaging a train
  To carry him hither and yon.
The traveling circus campaign
  Is not what he wishes to run.
    By open-mouthed rushing
    From 'Frisco to Flushing
  He knows that no victory's won.

He smiles a benevolent smile
  When Roosevelt is racing to reach
His million-and-thirty-ninth mile,
  Each mile representing a speech;
    For Wilson's concluded
    No voter's deluded
  By any hysterical screech.

The echoes blown in from afar;
  They're cutting big holes in the air.
The Theodore mouth is ajar
  And laboring everywhere.
    But Wilson, not flitting,
    Is quietly sitting
  And keeping his voice in repair.

The others go roaming the land;
  In thousands of towns they appear,
They yawp to the noise of the band
  Until you put wool in your ear.
    But Wilson the quiet
    Is certain no riot
  Will win the election this year.

O voters whose tympanums tough
  Are subject to agony keen
By force of Rooseveltian guff
  Or echoes of Taftian spleen,
    Hail Wilson far-seeing
    And love him for being
  No traveling talking-machine!

—JOHN O'KEEFE, in *N. Y. World.*

See the Shoe.
This is an A-mer-i-can Shoe.
It costs five dollars.
Does it cost five dol-lars ever-y-where?
No—only in A-mer-i-ca.
S also stands for Suck-er.
Per-haps we are Suck-ers to stand for the high tar-iff.

The "Cost of Production" Bogey.

Whenever you find a high tariff Republican driven into a corner and compelled to admit the iniquities of our present tariff laws he will invariably seek refuge in the old plea that we must have a tariff to equalize the difference in "cost of production" between American labor and "foreign pauper labor." In a speech recently made in Congress Representative Redfield completely riddles this argument. Mr. Redfield is himself a manufacturer and an employer of labor. He has traveled the world over and made a careful study of labor conditions, wages, cost of production, etc., and he presents this interesting subject in a new light and from angles that will prove a revelation to every American wage earner.

In his speech he brings out clearly this fact:

That American production to-day is often as cheap or cheaper in the labor cost per unit than foreign, and, so far from needing protection, it needs to be set free, that we may conquer the world.

Mr. Redfield, as a manufacturer, favors high wages, not from any philanthropic motive, but because he believes and from practical experience knows that skilled American labor at high wages is really cheaper than incompetent low-paid labor.

The speech of Mr. Redfield in full has been reprinted in pamphlet form and is being distributed free. Write to James T. Lloyd, Washington, D. C., and ask him to send you a copy.

INTERESTING INFORMATION.

Bridges were first built with an arch by the Romans.

The Boy Scouts of Great Britain number more than 600,000.

Homeless persons in London on one night exceed 1,200 in number.

By placing a cake of yeast in a cup of salt it will keep fresh a long time.

Entertainments in London are attended by 200,000 persons every Sunday.

The Hamburg-American line is the largest owner of steamships in the world.

Shakespeare's birthplace at Stratford-on-Avon was visited by 40,000 people last year.

It is said that the first temperance society started in Germany in the year 1517.

It has been computed that for every 10 messages sent by first-class mail 15 go by telephone.

It is computed that it takes 12 acres of land to graze one head of cattle on Texas range land.

In learning to use foreign goods, one of the first articles that Chinese people adopt is cheap perfumery.

Two cubic feet of water, falling six feet, will produce one horsepower of energy in the most modern electrical machinery.

State Campaign Opened

The Pennsylvania campaign of 1912 was formally opened at Scranton on the 23d ultimo, when Robert Emmett Cresswell and William Harvey Berry, respectively candidates of the Democratic party for Auditor General and State Treasurer and Elmer E. Greenawalt, Joseph Howley, George R. McLean and George Benton Shaw were officially notified of their nominations. It was a great event.

The city of Scranton was fitly chosen as the theater of this politcal epoch. The "coal metropolis" of the State, an industrial center of infinite importance and activity, the issues of the campaign touch closely the throbbing hearts of the thousands of wage earners who make up the bulk of the population of that splendid city. The high cost of living is a practical problem there.

The meeting was worthy of the occasion. Woodrow Wilson, the gifted Governor of New Jersey and the Democratic nominee for the Presidency was the principal speaker and 10,000 earnest men and women sat or stood entranced under the spell of his matchless eloquence. Cresswell and Berry spoke earnestly and persuasively and the candidates for Congressman-at-large accepted the honors bestowed upon them in appropriate periods.

The Scranton armory is a vast auditorium. It contains 6,500 seats, every one of which was occupied, while the wide aisles were literally packed with earnest men who came to see and hear the modest, gentle man who had been called by the voice of the people to the leadership of militant and magnificent force which will restore the government of the people to its rightful rulers.

Hundreds of women in the audience joined with the men in the deserved tribute to the leader of a new Democracy. They cheered and waved handkerchiefs and stood up with the men as the points were hammered home. It was all so simple that everybody understood. As Governor Wilson entered the hall the band played "Dixie" and the great crowd rose as one man and cheered. It was a genuine enthusiasm.

For nearly three hours earnest speakers trained their guns upon the high cost of living, the subserviency of public officials to the special interests and the broken promises of the Republican party. Chairman O'Brien stirred his listeners to uproarous enthusiasm with his reference to the good work of William H. Berry in exposing the capitol graft scandal and his prediction that Governor Woodrow Wilson will be the next president of the United States, was also followed by a tempest of applause.

The names of Governor Wilson, Mr. Berry and other state candidates were cheered every time they were mentioned, but it remained for the utterance of the name of William Jennings Bryan to evoke prolonged applause toward the end of the meeting.

As a prelude to the notification exercises, Chairman O'Brien introduced George W. Guthrie, of Pittsburg, chairman of the state committee. This proved to be the forerunner of a pleasant little surprise culminating in the presentation of a silver loving cup to James I. Blakeslee, of Lehighton, secretary of the state committee. Mr. Blakeslee also was secretary of the Pennsylvania delegation at the Baltimore convention and the trophy came as an expression of the delegation's appreciation of his splendid work during the long trying hours of the convention.

Mr. Guthrie paid high tribute to the efficiency and loyalty of Mr. Blakeslee after congratulating the state candidates upon having the support of a united party. Mr. Blakeslee responded gracefully and urged his listeners to show their real appreciation of the Baltimore delegation's work by placing Pennsylvania in the Wilson column with a majority of 100,000.

Following the notification address by Chairman O'Brien, responses were made by each candidate with the exception of George R. McLean, of Wilkes-Barre, one of the nominees for congressman-at-large. Robert E. Cresswell, candidate for auditor general; William H. Berry, candidate for state treasurer, and Messrs. George B. Shaw, of Westmoreland; Joseph Howley, of Pittsburg, and E. E. Greenawalt, of Lancaster, candidates for congressmen-at-large, were given ovations in their turns.

An Arsenal of Facts

Democratic Text Book For 1912

A well printed, substantially bound book of 432 pages—every page jammed full of interesting, instructive and convincing facts.

This book should be in the hands of every one interested in properly and effectively presenting the claims of the Democratic party and its candidates for preferment on November 5th. It is a valuable work to preserve also, for future reference.

The price of the book is 25 cents. It costs more than this to print and mail it. The National Committee contribute the difference. Send your orders to Democratic Headquarters, 9 South Second Street, Harrisburg, Pa.

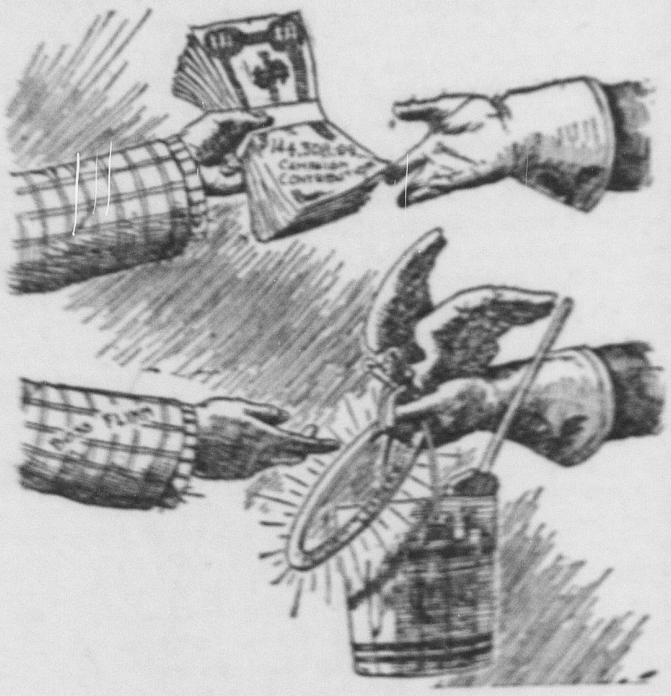
EDITORIAL COMMENT

By HERBERT

The most significant sentence in Mr. Berry's speech of acceptance was uttered near its close. "Immense bond issues for road building are contemplated," he said, "and tried men may prove valuable in handling this money." The appropriation for the capitol building was $4,500,000. With that as a basis of operations the managers of the Republican Machine stole $8,000,000. If William H. Berry had not been elected State Treasurer the loot would have amounted to $25,000,000, according to an admission of one of the beneficiaries of the graft. With $50,000,000 to start on the possibilities are simply a problem in mathematics. Four and a half into nine goes twice; into twenty-five, six and a quarter times. Six times fifty are three hundred and the figures stand for millions which may be stolen unless properly guarded.

Speaking upon this subject it may be worth while to remark that William Flinn, the Bull Moose Boss, originated the brilliant idea of spending $50,000,000 in road construction in this State. Flinn didn't know at the time that the constitution of the State forbids the borrowing of money for the purpose of building roads. He did know, however, that he had better facilities and more complete equipment for building roads on an extensive scale than any other man in Pennsylvania and that a law providing for $50,000,000 worth of road construction would be a pudding for Bill. But other Senators and Representatives in the Legislature were equally perspicacious and refused to vote for the project until after they thought Flinn was dead or lost in the shuffle.

Flinn was neither dead nor lost during the interval in which he was obscured from public observation. He was simply "sawing wood," so to speak, and when the skies had somewhat cleared he emerged on the back of the Bull Moose, galloped into control of the Republican State convention and nominated candidates for Auditor General and State Treasurer who would burn down the capitol to oblige him. Meantime preparations had been made to amend the constitution to authorize the expenditure of the $50,000,000 in road building and as everybody is in favor of good roads the chances are more than even that the plan will be consummated. In that event with A. W. Powell in the office of Auditor General and Robert W. Young in that of State Treasurer Bill's pudding would be immersed in an inexhaustible fountain of molten gold sauce.



THE PRICE.—Philadelphia Ledger.

Boss Flinn has two ambitions. One is to be Senator in Congress and the other to be among the enormously rich men. With his servile tools in control of the fiscal agencies of the State and a fund of $50,000,000 accessible for road construction, he might easily gratify both these desires. Senator Penrose alleges that he offered one and possibly two million dollars for the Senatorial toga when he only had a fortune of five or six millions. With the augmented resources which the $50,000,000 road building operations would afford, he could increase his offer to a figure multiplied by five and there is a tradition that "the longest pole knocks the persimmons." No other Pennsylvanian could, even if there were another willing to, stand against him in the market.

In the light of these facts we are compelled to concur in the opinion expressed by William H. Berry, in his speech of acceptance, that in view of the fact that "immense bond issues are contemplated and tried men may prove valuable in handling this money."

THE GLEANERS.—Dr. Mac. In the Record.

BOTH "TELLING THE TRUTH"

What Roosevelt Was in 1908

BY WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

(From "My Conception of the Presidency," by William H. Taft, Collier's Weekly, June 23, 1908.)

"It remained for Roosevelt to prove how the people will respond to a strong and true leadership when their hour has come for great reform. The policies which he inaugurated must be continued and developed. They are right and they are the policies of the people. For that reason his successor may well disregard any charge of lack of originality if he does not make an entirely new program of his own.

What Taft Was in 1908

BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT

(White House, Washington, June 18, 1908).

I feel that the country is indeed to be congratulated upon the nomination of Mr. Taft. * * * I do not believe there could be found in all the country a man so well fitted to be President. * * * Mr. Taft stands against all privilege, and he stands pre-eminently for the broad principles of American citizenship which lie at the foundation of our National Well-being.—THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

In 1912 Taft Says:

ROOSEVELT IS NOT SAFE

(At Boston on April 25, 1912, President Taft broke his silence on Roosevelt and delivered his first extended attack. As reported in a dispatch to the New York *Times* and published on April 26, the President said:)

"'Neither in thought, nor word nor action have I been disloyal to the friendship I owe Theodore Roosevelt. When the time came for this campaign to begin I let the people know that I would like to have my administration approved by their giving me another term. At that time Theodore Roosevelt said he was not a candidate and that it would be a calamity if he were nominated. Since then he has changed his mind.'

"Declaring that Mr. Roosevelt 'ought not to be selected as a candidate of any party,' Mr. Taft said that the former President might now be paving the way, if successful in the present campaign, to remain the Chief Executive of the nation for as many terms as his natural life would permit.

"'If he is necessary now to the government, why not later?' asked the President, and continued: 'One who so *lightly regards constitutional principles*, and especially the independence of the judiciary, one who is so naturally *impatient of legal restraints* and of due legal procedure, and who has so misunderstood what liberty regulated by law is, *could not safely be trusted* with successive presidential terms.'"

TEDDY MISREPRESENTS

(Boston dispatch dated April 29, 1912, and published in the New York *Times*, April 30.)

"'No man has the right to misrepresent another to get himself up in office, no matter how humble that man is,' the President shouted at one point in his Lowell address.

"'*Condemn me if you will,' he said in conclusion, 'but condemn me on other witnesses than Theodore Roosevelt.*'

"'I was a man of straw, but I have been a man of straw long enough; every man who has blood in his body and who has been misrepresented as I have been, is forced to fight.'"

AND IS FILLED WITH VANITY AND EGOTISM

(Boston Speech.)

"In every announcement he makes you will think he is the whole show, and there isn't anybody else in this country. It's I, I, I, and therefore I say you feed that *vanity* and that *egotism* by giving him something that Washington did not get, and Jefferson did not get, and Jackson did not get, and Grant could not get; you are going

(Continued on Page 16, First Column)

In 1912 Roosevelt Says:

TAFT FAVORS RULE BY SPECIAL CLASS

(Carnegie Hall speech by Roosevelt, March 21, 1912).

"Mr. Taft's postion is perfectly clear. It is that we have in this country a special class of persons wiser than the people, who can not be reached by the people, but who govern them and who ought to govern them; and who protect various classes of the people from the whole people."

TAFT IS NOT A PROGRESSIVE

(In the New York *Times* on April 4.)

"Four years ago the Progressives supported Mr. Taft and he was opposed by such representatives of special privilege as Mr. Penrose of Pennsylvania, Mr. Aldrich of Rhode Island, Mr. Gallinger of New Hampshire. These men were not Progressives then and they do not pretend to be Progressives now. But unlike the President, they know who is a Progressive and who is not. Their judgment in the matter is good. After three and a half years' association with and knowledge of the President, these and their fellows are now the President's chief supporters."

TAFT HAS BEEN FAITHLESS

(From the New York *Tribune* of May 19).

"I am against Mr. Taft *because Mr. Taft has been faithless* to the cause of the American people."

IS DISLOYAL TO DECENCY AND FAIR DEALING

(Col. Roosevelt began his Massachusetts campaign with a speech at Worcester on April 26, 1912. An Associated Press dispatch, dated Worcester, April 26, and published in the New York *Times* on April 27, says in part:)

"'When for instance, he (Taft) said that I have endeavored to minimize the importance of my Columbus speech, he says what he must know to be untrue. * * *

"'Again, when Mr. Taft in any speech speaks of me, directly or obliquely, as a neurotic or a demagogue, or in similar terms, I shall say nothing except to point out that if he is obliged to use such language he had *better preserve his own self-respect* by not protesting that it gives him pain to do so. No man resorts to epithets like these if it really gives him pain to use them.'

"Col. Roosevelt referred to President Taft's explanation of his statement that 'ours is a government of all the people by a representative part of the people.'

"'For him to try,' said Col. Roosevelt, 'to escape the consequences

(Continued on Page 16, Second Column)

IN 1912 TAFT SAYS:—Continued from Preceding Page.

to put him in office with a sense of power and with a view of constitutional restriction that will be *dangerous to this country.* * * *

"Mr. Roosevelt likens himself to Abraham Lincoln more and resembles him less than any man in the history of this country. * * *

"I hold that that man is *a demagogue and a flatterer* who comes out and tells the people that they know it all. *I hate a flatterer.* I like a man to tell the truth straight out and *I hate to see a man try to honeyfugle the people by telling them something* HE DOES NOT BELIEVE."

DELIBERATELY DISTORTS LANGUAGE

"With *characteristic boldness and lack of facts and evidence* and resting *on his false and distorted construction* of my language as to government by a representative part of the people, Mr. Roosevelt charges that I stand for the so-called interests and special privilege."

HAS SELFISH AMBITIONS

(Cincinnati, May 19.)

"He announced that unless he is nominated the interests of the party and the interests of its members are to be sacrificed and only *his selfish ambition* is to be consulted. It can not be that Republicans can countenance such a *breach of party fealty*, such *treason to the party's properly constituted government* and such *defiance to the will of the majority.*"

AND HATES BOSSES ONLY WHEN THEY OPPOSE HIM

(Boston Speech.)

"Mr. Taft next took up what he termed the 'unfair' charge that he was in favor of an oligarchy of bosses.

"'He (Col. Roosevelt) says that all the bosses are in my favor and all of them against him. That is not true. By his association with William Flinn, of Pittsburg, there is being restored to power in that city and in Pennsylvania one of the *worst municipal bosses* that the history of that state knows. * * * When I consider the eagerness with which Mr. Roosevelt has accepted in his various campaigns the assistance of Mr. Aldrich, Mr. Cannon, Mr. Penrose, Mr. Quay, Mr. Platt, Mr. Foraker, and many other men prominent and influential in politics and Congress, I do not hesitate to say that it involves the *most audacious effrontery* on his part to attack me and to charge me, on that account, with helping machine politics."

DOES NOT RESEMBLE LINCOLN

(Youngstown, Ohio, dispatch dated May 14, 1912, and published in the New York *Tribune* of May 15, quotes Mr. Taft as follows:)

"I may be puzzle-witted. That is a question you can not discuss any more than you can discuss whether you are good looking. But whether I am puzzle-witted or not, I know the difference between truth and fiction; I know what a square deal is, and I know that he (Roosevelt) does not resemble Abraham Lincoln in any respect."

IN 1912 ROOSEVELT SAYS:—Continued from Preceding Page.

of his statement by saying that he alluded only to women and children, is trifling with the intelligence of the people. To speak of such action on his part as a "square deal" is itself the *crookedest kind of a deal.* He is *trying to dodge* the consequences of his statement *by deliberate misrepresentation* of that statement.'

"Col. Roosevelt defined the political boss as 'the man responsible for the alliance between crooked politics and crooked business.' * * * 'The trouble with Mr. Taft is that he gets their (the bosses') assistance at the price of going their way and *opposing the cause of the people.*

"'Mr. Taft said yesterday that never in thought, word or deed had he been disloyal in his friendship for me. It is hard for me to answer such a statement save by calling it *the grossest and most astounding hypocrisy.* When Mr. Taft made that statement he had just sent into the United States Senate, on half an hour's notice, obviously in collusion with the Lorimer Democratic senator who made the request, papers which were intended to convey the impression that I had improperly favored the Harvester Trust by declining to prosecute it in 1907. * * * He has not merely in thought, word and deed *been disloyal to our past friendship*, but he has been *disloyal to every canon of ordinary decency* and fair dealing, such as should obtain even in dealing with a man's bitterest opponents. Such conduct represents the *very crookedest kind of a crooked deal*, and when Mr. Taft within twenty-four hours after making it complains that he has not been given a square deal by me, he *exposes himself to derision and contempt.*

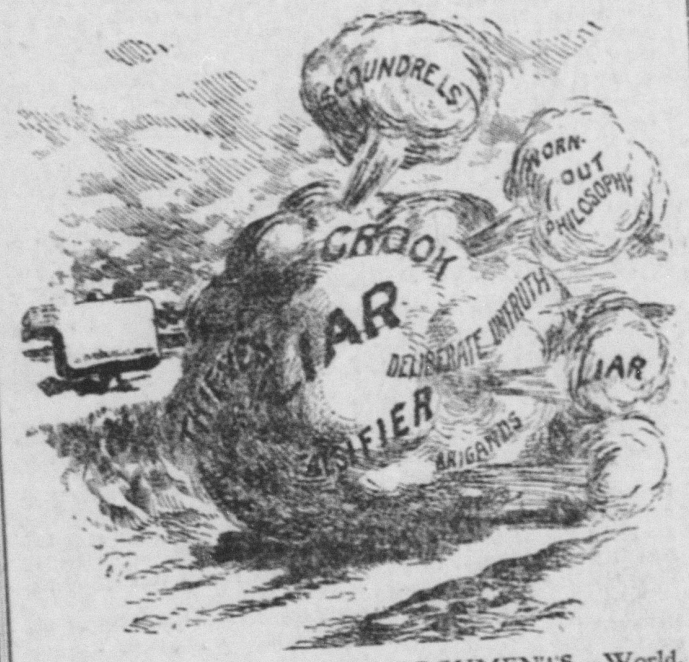
"'Mr. Taft says,' Colonel Roosevelt continued, 'that the influence of federal office holders in the Chicago convention will be less effective for any one candidate than ever before in the history of the party. This is *not only an untruth, but it is an absurd untruth.* Never in thirty years' close observation have I seen such scandalous abuse of the patronage as this year. Some of the abuse of patronage has been done directly by Mr. Taft himself.

"'It is a most curious thing that Mr. Taft should actually criticise me for not having assailed him about the Payne tariff law. As he now insists that I should break silence about the tariff law, I will say that I hold him culpably responsible for having led the people to believe that he favored a substantial downward revision, and that he would work actively for it, and for then having *sat supinely by* and allowed his new friends under the leadership of Messrs. Aldrich and Cannon to produce a *bill which made him convict himself of insincerity when he signed it.*

"'Long after I felt deep in my heart that *he was unfit to lead his people* I refused to acknowledge the fact to myself and struggled to convince myself that he was fit. Until less than a year ago I kept desperately hoping that Mr. Taft would at least show himself reasonably fit for the task before him.

"'I do not think that Mr. Taft means ill; I think he means well. But *he means well feebly* and during his administration he *has been under the influence of men who are neither well meaning nor feeble.* It is this quality of feebleness in a thoroughly amiable man which pre-eminently fits such a man for use in high office *by the powers of evil.*'"

Roosevelt Knows Taft Taft Knows Roosevelt They Know Each Other



TEDDY'S CONVINCING ARGUMENTS.—World.

The Penalty of Delay.

Had Grover Cleveland been successful in the great fight with GORMAN over the tariff, we should not now be facing on such an extreme scale the related problems of (1) monopolies —many of them created by the tariff, (2) the high cost of living, (3) the vast inequalities of wealth, (4) the subordination of the country to the city. If WILSON is elected, he will be confronted with some extremely hard work which the Democratic party had an opportunity to do under CLEVELAND and refused, with the result that the Republicans, in the spirit of HANNA, proceeded to manufacture that "prosperity" from which we are suffering now. WILSON finds the Democratic masses much more convinced than CLEVELAND did; he finds a large part of the Republicans sick to death of the Payne-Aldrich Bill; and he finds the La Follette-Cummins type of Progressive Republican leaders as determined about the tariff as any Democrats, although slightly differing with them in matters of degree. The prospects, therefore, for successful correction of tariff graft under WILSON would be far better than they were under CLEVELAND, who saw his own party divided, while the Republicans were a unit in convincing the workingman that they could take money out of the public in general and put it into his dinner pail or pay envelope.—*Colliers.*

Farmer Buncoed on His Protected Farm Implements

By BYRON W. HOLT.

(Chairman of the Tariff Reform Committee of the Reform Club.)

When Jeremiah M. Rusk, then Secretary of Agriculture, became convinced, in 1890, that the American Harvester Company was selling farm machinery in Russia, Australia and other wheat growing countries at lower prices than it was selling them for to American farmers, he said:

> This won't do. * * * The first thing the farmer will do * * * will be to make a howl against trusts and protection that does not protect. Whether justly or not, he will charge it to the Republican party. I am as certain as I can be of anything that *this mower and reaper trust will cost the Republican party hundreds of thousands of votes at the next Presidential election.*

Apparently, Secretary Rusk's prophecy was fulfilled. The fact that this and other protected trusts were caught selling their products cheaper to foreign than to American citizens undoubtedly had much to do with Grover Cleveland's election in 1892. Many others besides farmers did not relish this particular kind of tariff swindle. What effect, then, will it have on the election of 1912 when the fact becomes known that this policy of discrimination continues?

Farming Out the Farmer

Wasteful and inefficient governments used to adopt the method known as "farming out the taxes." The governments knew they would get only a small part of the amounts extorted by the tax collectors, but those from whom the taxes were taken did not vote.

In this country many taxpayers do vote. It is because farmers vote that they have long been the avowed objects of solicitude on the part of the protectionist Good Samaritan. It has paid the protectionist to try to fool the farmer, because there are about 6,000,000 farmers in the country and nearly 4,000,000 more agricultural laborers. If this body of voters were deluded into thinking that they were beneficiaries of the tariff, protection was safe. Farmers, however, do not always turn the other cheek when one has been slapped, and it would be difficult to conceive of any more direct and uncalled for slap than protection gives the American farmer by charging him extortion prices for articles of daily use on the farm while selling them cheaper to the farmers' competitors all over the world.

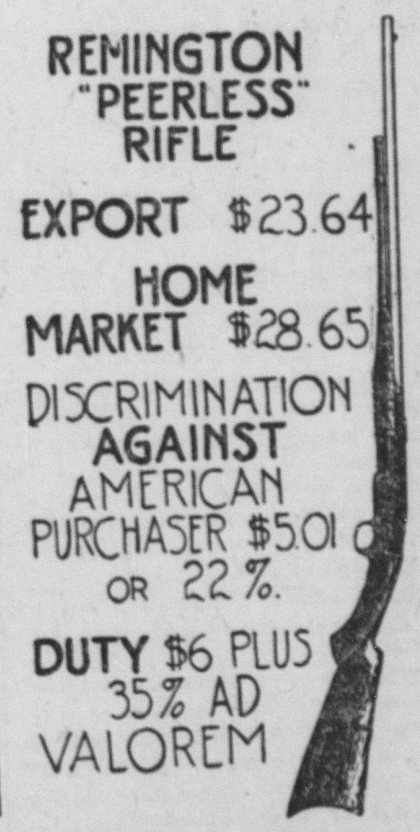
His Lean twenty-disc harrow, made by the Roderick Lean Manufacturing Company at Mansfield, O., comes $7.31 higher than the same article costs for export to any farmer outside of the United States. His Universal cultivator and seed drill and his Universal garden plough No. 216, made at South Framingham, Mass., and his New Century four-shovel cultivator, made by the Heath Farming and Manufacturing Company of Plymouth, O., also each cost him one-fourth more than the export price. The duty on all these implements is only 15 per cent., and the farmer has heard that the price of American manufactured products is increased by only a small part of the duty. This claim is chilly comfort when the farmer pays much larger excess in price over his foreign competitor than the duty.

At no season of the year is the farmer exempt from protection's expensive solicitude.

EXAMPLES OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST "PROTECTED" FARMERS

Prices quoted to the Tariff Reform Committee's "export agent:"

	—Wholesale Price— Export.	Domestic.	Excess charged American consumer as cost of "protection."			Payne-Aldrich duty— Per ct.
Ames cylinder churn, 4-gal.....	$ 1.62	$ 2.25	$ 0.63	equals	37%	30
Universal corn sheller.....	6.14	7.50	1.36	"	22%	45
Universal garden plough No. 216	2.13	2.63	.50	"	23%	15
Rapid grist mill No. 10.....	1.50	2.00	.50	"	33%	45
New Century 4-shovel cultivator	22.10	27.20	5.10	"	23%	15
Lean 20-disc harrow.....	29.26	36.57	7.31	"	25%	15
Dixon's axle grease, 1-lb. (doz.)	1.20	1.50	.30	"	25%	35
Dedrick hay press, 14x18.....	208.25	250.00	41.75	"	20%	45
Collins Yankee axe (doz.).....	6.07	6.75	.68	"	11%	45
Hoes, bright Collins No. 4 (doz.)	5.17	5.75	.58	"	11%	45
Land rollers, 7-ft., steel.....	18.67	22.40	3.73	"	20%	45
Remington repeating shotgun, standard	15.88	19.25	3.37	"	20%	$6&35
Union rim-fire cartridges, long rifle, 22 (per M.).....	1.84	2.35	.51	"	28%	30



The Rapid grist mill No. 10, made in Plymouth, O., costs him a third more than the price at which the manufacturers offer it for export. This is summer grist for the Republican protection mill. In the good old summer time too he has to pay a fifth more than the export price for Stewart's hand horse clippers.

"Protection" on Sport

When the snow is on the ground and he wants to go hunting, protection is still with him, and he pays $3.37, or one-fifth, more than the export price for a Remington repeating shotgun. He might prefer to save that $3.37 by buying the gun for $15.88, the export price, instead of the $19.25 which he does pay.

If the farmer wants to hunt bigger game he has the privilege of putting up $28.65, which is 22 per cent. more than the export price of $23.64 for a Remington "Peerless" rifle, which he doubtless enjoys. For the Union rim-fire No. 22 cartridges, long rifle, he has to pay nearly a third more than the export price.

The farmer's wife has a proverbially hard time and life. She has to help her husband keep the farm running, without any pay, but tries to make a little pin money by making butter. Even on this job protection, which ignores all decencies, robs her of her mite by compelling her to pay for an Ames 4-gallon cylinder churn, made in South Framingham, Mass., 37 per cent. more than the price at which the Ames Plow Company sells this churn for export.

This is the "lure" protection offers the farmers. On seventeen purchases that would be necessary on a well equipped farm the American has to pay a total of $106.66 more than the same articles can be bought for if they are for use anywhere outside of the United States.

Excess in home over export price, chargeable to "protection:"

Gale triple gang plough	$22.50
Boy Blue land plough	1.20
Gale steel beam chilled plough	1.80
Dedrick hay press	41.75
Universal corn sheller	1.36
Universal cultivator	1.56
New Century four-shovel cultivator	5.10
Lean twenty-disc harrows	7.31
Gale drop planter	8.55
Collins Yankee axes (2)	1.40
Collins bright hoes No. 4 (2)	1.20
Grub hoes, oval eye (2)	1.70
Collins land roller	3.73
Farmer's cart sprayer	7.50
Total excess price on seventeen articles	$106.66

The farmer has to have several scores of articles, machinery of different kinds and agricultural and garden implements, to make his business a success. The protectionist graft compels him to pay several hundred dollars extra in excess prices to get started in successful farming on even a small scale.

Enough to Buy Ten Acres

The average value per acre of all farms in the United States in 1910 was only $31.26. The farmer can calculate that he would rather have an extra ten acres of land than make a forced contribution of even $300 in excessive prices to protect manufacturers.

The wonderful and new interest the Republican party is taking in helping the farmer to secure credit is based upon the sound self-interest of protected manufacturers. They know that if the farmer is to pay high protection prices, which run from a quarter to a third higher than the export prices for the same articles, he must have easier credit. The Republican party seriously suggests, therefore, that farmers should keep in debt so as to be able to pay protection's extortion prices.

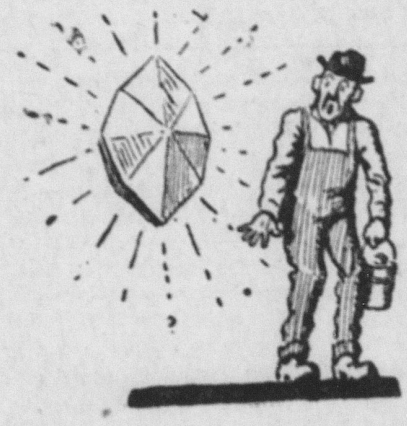
But farmers don't always see themselves as others, especially Republicans, see them. Will they see themselves kept heavily in debt for the sake of paying $500 or even $300 excess profits to manufacturers of agricultural machinery and implements, even if the rate of interest be 4½ per cent. instead of 6 per cent.? Wouldn't they rather buy their implements at the same prices as their foreign competitors and save the principal of $500 or even $300, as well as the interest they now pay to protected manufacturers?

Agricultural implements to the value of nearly $60,000,000 were exported in 1911 to North America alone, a large part of these at prices from a quarter to a third cheaper than the price charged the American farmer.

The farmer can see, in spite of the black eye that protection has given him, that he doesn't gain anything by the protective system which makes him pay much more than his competitors all over the world for the implements and machinery he must use to earn his living, while he does not reap any appreciable benefits from the system, which claims to "protect" him.

"PROTECTED" CHURN OF THE "PROTECTED" FARMER'S WIFE.

SOLD TO CANADIANS FOR $1.62
TO AMERICANS FOR $2.25
COST OF "PROTECTION" 63 CENTS
OR 37%. DUTY 30%



See the Di-a-mond?
It sparkles with hum-or.
The tar-iff on Di-a-monds is ten per cent.
The av-er-age Tar-iff on man-u-factures of wool is nearly 90 per cent.
On man-u-factures of cotton it is 58 per cent.
Does this please the work-ing-man?
Oh, yes, he is very grate-ful.
Un-der the High Tar-iff sys-tem he can buy his
Di-a-monds com-par-a-tively free of tax-a-tion.

Scared White.

A union butcher workman was suing a packing firm to recover damages for injuries sustained in a Kansas City establishment. A colored laborer in the plant was called as a witness.

"Did you work with Jones, the plaintiff?"

"Yassah."

"Do you know the foreman and the other officers of the plant?"

"Yassah."

"What are your relations with them?" continued the attorney.

"Now, yo' look-a-here, boss," said the witness. "I'se skeared. That's a-why I looks so white. Them folks ain't no relations of mine."—*Exchange.*

Political Labels

Prepared for Republican "PEACHES"

For E. A. VanValkenburg, editor of *North American*—

"Indicted for Bribery"

By Penrose.

For Boise Penrose—

"Briber and Corruptionist"

By VanValkenburg.

For Boise Penrose—

"Black Heart and Corrupt Hands"

By Flinn.

For Wm. Flinn—

"Worst Municipal Boss"

By Taft.

For VanValkenburg-Flinn combination—

"Hypocrisy and Mendacity"

By Penrose.

For President Taft—

"Deliberate Misrepresentation"

"Astounding Hypocrisy"

"A Crooked Deal"

"Near Being Treason"

"Absurd Untruth"

"Representative of Bosses"

"Fraudulent Nomination"

All by "Teddy."

For Teddy Roosevelt—

"The Whole Show"

"It's I, I, I"

"Naturally Impatient"

"Audacious Effrontery"

"Demagogue and Flatterer"

"Lack of Facts"

"Reckless Ambition"

"Serious Menace"

By "The President."

Wilson Will "Can" the Whole Bunch in November

ORGANIZING FOR WILSON

One of the most encouraging of the many factors which indicate the tremendous popularity of Wilson and Marshall is the spontaneous organizations that are springing up to forward their candidacy. Besides the Woodrow Wilson leagues, which have spread all over the country, there are now actively in the field the following organizations:

The College Men's League.

The Commercial Men's League.

The National League of Business Men for Wilson and Marshall.

The Wilson National Progressive Republican League.

Woman's National Wilson and Marshall League with which Dr. Wiley is connected as President of the Bureau of National Health Conservation.

All of these organizations are working most enthusiastically for the success of Governor Wilson and the reasons they give for their activity are interesting. For instance Cleveland H. Dodge, president of the National League of Business Men, says:

"This League has been organized for the purpose of concentrating the sentiment and activities of men representing all business interests in the United States who favor the election of Woodrow Wilson for President, and Thomas R. Marshall for Vice-President of the United States.

"The chief aim of the League is to insure safety and sanity in governmental action as affecting business interests.

Governor Wilson has written us:

"'I am very glad to learn of the organization of this National League. No study of the history of government can be candidly made which will not lead to the conclusion that the very thing that government cannot let alone is business, for business underlies every part of our life. The problem of politics is co-operation, and I am very sure that just as soon as the business of this country has general, free, welcome access to the councils of government all the friction between business and politics will disappear.

WOODROW WILSON.'"

Dr. Wiley for the Women's League, has assisted in the preparation of a pamphlet of which he says:

"We quote from the writings of both Taft and Roosevelt on the pure food laws and we demonstrate beyond any doubt that they have done all in their power to block legislation towards the proper enactment of laws that would protect the public from fraud.

"We also show the false workings of certain laws that both of these gentlemen have approved. There is no theory or guess work about this document. It is made up of startling facts that every voter in the country should read and know about.

"We will mail one of these documents to every member of the Women's Clubs in this country, but we do not expect to stop there. We want the men to know. Roosevelt has rallied a number of women to his support but when they ascertain his true views as taken from his writings and the laws he favored, they will desert him by the thousands."

The Wilson National Progressive Republican League, under the able direction of the militant reformer, Rudolph Spreckles, is enrolling many Republicans for Wilson. Membership in this League is composed entirely of men who desire to preserve their indentity as Republicans, but under existing conditions will aid in electing Governor Wilson, president of the United States.

The Commercial Men's Wilson League is composed entirely of traveling men who are this year particularly strong for Wilson.

You are invited to join any of these movements. The enrollment blank below is so arranged that you may insert the name of the particular organization you wish to join. Fill it out and mail to the address given, at once.

ENROLLMENT BLANK.

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION,

200 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Sirs: The undersigned hereby desires to be enrolled as a member of the ..... of the State of Pennsylvania, and hereby pledges to do all in his power to honorably promote the election of Wilson and Marshall for President and Vice-President of the United States.

Write Name Plainly.....

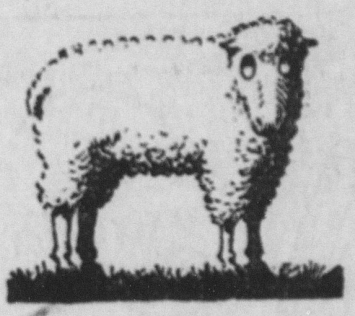
Is at Street Address.....

Lives in City of.....

State .....

Old Democratic Voter?.....

New Democratic Voter?.....



See the Lamb.
Is this Mary's lamb?
Not on your life.
The lamb be-longs to Wool Trust.
The Lamb gives up its fleece to the Wool Trust for cloth-ing and blank-ets.
We al-so give up to the Wool Trust.
It flee-ces us.
It is pro-tect-ed by the Tar-iff.

The Mind.

Little Elois—What is the mind, Elmer?

Little Elmer—The mind is something that turns round and round in your head and makes up stories.

PASS IT ALONG

When you are through with this magazine will you kindly hand or send it to some friend or neighbor who you think is or ought to be interested.

Peril of Watermelon Eating.

A small negro boy stood by the side of the road near a river, standing on one foot, holding his head on one side and pounding the top of it with his hand.

"What's the matter?" inquired the traveler.

"Watah in mah eah," grinned the boy.

"Well, well, I declare!" said the traveling man. "To think I'd forgotten! I've done the self-same thing many a time when I've been in swimming and got water in my ears."

"I ain't been er swimmin'," the boy denied.

"How'd you get water in your ear, then?"

"Ah been eatin' watermillion," was the reply.—*Louisville Times.*

Interesting Information.

Whales to the value of $11,000,000 were killed during the last season.

Expenditures made by the United States government for farm experimental stations have increased from $710,000 in 1888 to $1,562,878 in 1911.

Three-quarters of the cotton produce of the world is contributed by the United States.

Accumulated in the mines of the world there is enough coal to create 15,000,000,000-horsepower for 12,000 years.

Boston has 1,500 union bricklayers.

In 1911, 67,527,822 gallons of mineral waters were sold in the United States, valued at $7,875,373.

QUACK-QUACK

HAIR WILL GROW ON ALL THE BALDHEADS
THE LEAN WILL BE FAT
COMMON PEOPLE
THE STRAPHANGER WILL HAVE A SEAT
I CAN'T BELIEVE IT
THE POOR WILL BE RICH
$
THE EMPTY MARKET BASKET WILL BE FULL
THE WOMEN WILL VOTE
CHICKENS WILL HATCH TWINS
THE TOOTHLESS WILL GROW TEETH
IF YOU SWALLOW THAT PILL
THIRD TERM PILL
DOC ROOSEVELT
Ketten

—*Ketten, in N. Y. Evening World.*

AN OPPORTUNITY

There are 500,000 Honest, Independent and Self-reliant Democrats in Pennsylvania. One hundred thousand of these earnest voters have an opportunity to contribute, each, ONE HONEST DOLLAR to a fund to pay necessary and legitimate expenses of electing a courageous and consistent Democrat to the great office of President of the United States. Some Democrats ought and will contribute more than the one honest dollar. They will make up for those who do not recognize their obligation in this direction. Mail your contributions to the Democratic State Headquarters, 9 N. Second St., Harrisburg. You will receive in return a handsome token of appreciation of your generous patriotism.

THE BALLINGER-PINCHOT ROW

Conservation and Development

(From Woodrow Wilson's speech accepting the Democratic nomination.)

*We have been a spendthrift nation and must now husband what we have left. We must do more than that. We must develop, as well as preserve, our water powers and must add great waterways to the transportation facilities of the Nation, to supplement the railways within our borders as well as upon the Isthmus. We must revive our merchant marine, too, and fill the seas again with our own fleets. We must add to our present post office service a parcels post as complete as that of any other nation. We must look to the health of our people upon every hand, as well as hearten them with justice and opportunity. * * * There are many sides to these great matters. Conservation is easy to generalize about, but hard to particularize about wisely. Reservation is not the whole of conservation. The development of great states must not be stayed indefinitely to await a policy by which our forests and water powers can prudently be made use of. Use and development must go hand in hand. The policy we adopt must be progressive, not negative, merely, as if we did not know what to do.*

The first big sensation of the Taft Administration was what is known as the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy, over the right of certain claimants to Alaskan coal lands to patents for their claims. The affair reached the magnitude of a national scandal, involving as it did a number of the principal officials of the government and disclosing as it did the methods by which favored parties have succeeded in illegally taking from the government properties of great value.

The data given below is based upon evidence furnished in the investigation by the two Houses of Congress of the conduct in the transaction of the then Secretary of the Interior, Hon. Richard Achilles Ballinger. Very shortly after the inauguration of President Taft, charges were made by Gifford Pinchot, the chief forester of the United States, and by Louis R. Glavis, the special agent in charge of the Seattle Land Office, to the effect that Mr. Ballinger, the new Secretary of the Interior, was proposing to patent a group of coal claims in the Katalla district in Alaska, known as the Cunningham claims. These claims were 33 in number and comprised a total territory of 5,280 acres of the richest coal lands in Alaska. It was further alleged that the Cunningham claims were fraudulent under the Alaskan mineral laws and that should they go through to patent and the title pass irrevocably from the United States to the Cunninghams, these tremendous coal resources, whose value was estimated at between $50,000,000 and $100,000,000, would become the property of the Morgan-Guggenheim interests under a prior agreement between the Wall Street financiers and the Cunningham claimants.

TAFT STUCK TO BALLINGER

By mid-summer, 1909, the country had been aroused to the danger by sensational newspaper articles and by the reiterated charges of Pinchot and Glavis. Glavis, who at first had tried privately to prevail upon Secretary Ballinger to cancel the Cunningham claims, finally was removed by his chief from the investigation of the Cunningham claims, and when, in September, 1909, he appealed over Ballinger's head to President Taft to save the Alaskan coal for the people, he was discharged for insubordination by executive order.

The President then realized the political necessity of putting an end to the agitation against Secretary Ballinger. Accordingly in September, 1909, he made public a letter in which he exonerated Ballinger of any blame in the Alaskan affair, basing his judgment, as he stated, first on a careful consideration of all the evidence in the case, and, second, upon a letter from Attorney General Wickersham which stated that Ballinger had acted entirely within the law.

Pinchot, however, did not permit the affair to drop thus easily, but repeated his charges that Ballinger was conniving with the Guggenheims, and added charges that the new Secretary was impeding the work of the Reclamation Service, and was playing into the hands of the western water-power grabbers by restoring to public entry power sites which had been withdrawn by the previous administration. The result was that Pinchot was himself dismissed from the government service in the fall of 1909.

At this point the Democrats in Congress took hold and by forcing a public investigation of the Department of the Interior laid bare the facts and effectually crushed what hopes of seizing Alaska the Morgan-Guggenheim interests still entertained. The resolution providing for the inquiry was introduced by Representative (now Senator) Gilbert M. Hitchcock, Democrat, of Nebraska. The Aldrich-Cannon Republican forces were then in control of Congress, and they saw to it that the majority of the joint committee was composed of men who would stand by Ballinger no matter what the evidence.

DEMOCRATS PREVENTED "WHITEWASH"

This majority fulfilled all predictions by exonerating the Secretary at the close of the investigation, but the presence on the committee of such Democratic members as Representative Ollie M. James, now Senator-elect from Kentucky, Senator Fletcher, of Florida, and Representative James M. Graham, of Illinois, assited by Representative Madison, the militant and lamented Insurgent Republican from Kansas, prevented the stifling of material evidence and resulted in what was commonly conceded to be a great popular verdict against Secretary Ballinger. Much of the credit for this result is due to Louis D. Brandeis, the Boston lawyer, Democrat, and supporter of Woodrow Wilson, whose conduct of the case as attorney for Glavis, marked him as one of the ablest lawyers of his generation.

A short explanation here of the technical procedure in securing a mineral claim from the public domain is necessary to give a clear understanding of the Alaskan conspiracy. The prospector "locates" his claim by staking it out; by paying a small fee to the government, he "enters" his claim; the Land Office, after investigation showing that the claim is not fraudulent, "clear-lists" it, which is the official O. K.; the "patent" transfers the title to the claimant. Under the law the claimant must be a bona fide prospector who staked off his claim in person. It is against the law for claimants to pool their claims with the idea of operating them in a single company.

FRAUD IN CLAIMS SHOWN

R. A. Ballinger first came into the government service as Commissioner of the General Land Office in the Roosevelt administration. At that time Glavis was the Land Office's special agent in charge of the field investigations of Alaskan mineral claims. Of the thousands of claims which had been located in Alaska only a small number, known as the Cunningham group, had progressed to a point anywhere near patenting. In 1907, Glavis secured an interview with Ballinger on his statement that he had discovered evidences of fraud in the Cunningham claims. Glavis told Commissioner Ballinger that many of the Cunningham claimants were "dummy entrymen"—that is, their claims had been located for them in Alaska by prospectors carrying their powers of attorney.

Moreover, according to Glavis, the Cunninghams were in a pooling arrangement, and had actually signed an agreement with the Guggenheims to sell a half interest in their coal lands, when patented, for $250,000. By that time it had become common knowledge on the Pacific coast that the Guggenheims were planning to monopolize the Alaskan resources, and Guggenheim advertisements were even then being published offering work on a new Alaskan railroad which

would tap the Katalla coal fields where the Cunningham claims were located.

In spite of these evidences of the fraudulent character of the Cunningham claims, Commisioner Ballinger ordered the claims clear-listed in December, 1907. Less than a month later the investigation for some unexplained reason was taken from Glavis' hands and Ballinger ordered the patents to be drawn up. When Glavis learned of this he telegraphed to Ballinger that the claims were fraudulent. This telegram in the files stopped the threatened patenting.

BALLINGER'S SERVICE TO TAFT

On March 4, 1908, Ballinger resigned as Commissioner and took up his law practice in Seattle, almost immediately becoming attorney for the Cunningham interests, although there is a statute prohibiting a federal officer from acting as attorney for interests pressing claims before his branch of the government for two years after he has left the office. Part of his services as attorney for the claimants consisted in drawing up an affidavit containing the statement that the Cunningham group had no intention of combining their claims.

During the interval in 1908, Ballinger became active in Republican politics, and successfully solicited large amounts for the Taft campaign fund on the Pacific coast. After the election Taft chose Ballinger to be his Secretary of the Interior. It was strongly rumored that powerful interests were influential in putting Ballinger in President Taft's cabinet.

As soon as he became Secretary, Ballinger revived the Cunningham claims which had lain dormant in the Land Office since Glavis' telegram had prevented them going to patent a year previously. Ballinger ordered Assistant Secretary Pierce to interpret the coal land law, and under the Pierce interpretation the Cunningham claims could have been patented. But Glavis and Henry M. Hoyt, the Attorney-General of Porto Rico, appealed to Attorney General Wickersham whose written opinion reversed the Pierce interpretation. Shortly thereafter Glavis was removed from the Alaskan investigations, and when he wrote to President Taft that he feared Mr. Ballinger was purposing to patent the claims, he was discharged for insubordination. But aroused public opinion and the revelations of the subsequent Congressional investigation during the early part of 1910 now made the patenting of the claims impossible. Mr. Ballinger resigned in 1911, and his successor, Walter L. Fisher, cancelled the Cunningham claims as fraudulent.

During the Ballinger affair able and conscientious public servants who had opposed the Secretary were allowed by President Taft to resign or were dismissed. Gifford Pinchot was one of the first to go. Mr. Hoyt also left the government service, as did Special Agent Jones, one of the Alaskan investigators, and several others. For a year and a half much of the government scientific work was badly demoralized by the affair.

President Taft in his letter of September 13, 1909, exonerating Ballinger, claimed to have based his decision on an opinion written by Mr. Wickersham. From a study of the Wickersham opinion several months later, Mr. Brandeis deduced that though the opinion bore the date of September 11, 1909, it could not have been written until some weeks later, probably in December. The Attorney General afterwards admitted this to be the truth, though there is a statute providing a penalty for falsely dating a government document.

The President had also stated that he had gone over the evidence carefully before writing the letter of exoneration. Mr. Brandeis demonstrated to the committee that the President had the evidence in his possession only a week, a week filled with golf games and visits to points near Beverly, Mass., where Mr. Taft was spending the summer. The evidence was so voluminous, Mr. Brandeis declared, that it would take all of a man's time for several weeks merely to read it through.

TAFT IN BAD HOLE

The chief sensation of the case, however, was reserved for the end of the committee's proceedings. Frederick M. Kerby, Mr. Ballinger's confidential stenographer, testified to the committee that Oscar W. Lawler, the solicitor for the Interior Department, had taken to Beverly, in September, a so-called memorandum, prepared by Ballinger and Lawler in the former's office, and which in wording corresponded very closely to the President's letter exonerating Ballinger. Mr. Brandeis in the proceedings had several times called upon Mr. Ballinger, Mr. Wickersham, and the President to produce this memorandum in evidence, and each time his request had been met by the denial of the existence of any such document.

Mr. Kerby's statement was published in a Washington newspaper, and the *White House immediately issued a complete denial of the truth of his charges. At almost the same moment, however, the missing document was found at the Department of Justice and sent to the committee.* Later, the same day, the President was forced to deny his earlier denial of the truth of the Kerby charges, and in a long statement which approximated the nature of a confession, President Taft admitted that he had instructed Mr. Lawler to write in the first person, "as if you were President," the letter which could be modified if necessary and signed by the President as his own composition.

A TIMELY REMINDER

The Democratic National Finance Committee for Pennsylvania, appointed by Mr. Henry Morgenthau, Chairman of the Democratic National Finance Committee and of which Hon. Vance C. McCormick of Harrisburg is Chairman, has been completed by the appointment of one or more members of the committee from every county in Pennsylvania.

A preliminary meeting of this committee, attended by those who had accepted their appointment, was held in Philadelphia on Wednesday, September 25. The meeting, at which Mr. McCormick presided and at which Mr. Morgenthau, State Chairman Guthrie and National Committeeman Palmer met with the committee, was most successful. Practically every member present took part in the informal discussions that went on for several hours, as to ways and means of raising Pennsylvania's quota for the National fund, to pay the legitimate expenses of the Wilson and Marshall campaign.

Mr. Morgenthau made some very valuable suggestions and urged the necessity of prompt and immediate action on the part of the committeemen. It was unanimously decided that Pennsylvania should be districted according to counties, the amount of money to be raised in each county to be apportioned according to their size, population and Democratic strength.

The Democratic National Committee for Pennsylvania will work in perfect harmony with the State Finance Committee, some of whose contributions, if so designated, will go to the National Committee. Money is urgently needed for the National campaign outside of this State; and Pennsylvania, as one of the richest States in the Union, should and will do its full share in contributing to the National fund.

The National Democratic Committee is treating the Democrats of Pennsylvania generously in providing speakers of national reputation to present the issues of the campaign to the voters of this State in public meetings that have already begun and will go on in all sections of the State until the campaign is ended.

To make up Pennsylvania's apportionment to the National fund it is essential that those Democrats who are able to make large contributions should do so promptly. Checks may be drawn to the order of Vance C. McCormick or of Rolla Wells, Treasurer of the Democratic National Committee. They will all be promptly forwarded to the National Headquarters at New York, and attractive individual receipts issued in every case. Letters to Mr. McCormick may be addressed to Box 547, Harrisburg.

WILL YOU BE ONE

TO GIVE LIBERALLY to the Democratic National Campaign Fund to rescue the government from control of Special Interests and restore it to the people? The people must supply the money for all legitimate expenses. A great deal is needed at once. This appeal is to every Democrat in Pennsylvania. Send checks to Vance C. McCormick, Chairman of National Finance Com. for Pennsylvania. Address Box 547, Harrisburg.

Democratic National Committee
200 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK
RECEIVED OF
THE SUM OF
IN CONTRIBUTION TO THE FUND TO PAY THE NECESSARY EXPENSES OF THE CAMPAIGN IN BEHALF OF THE ELECTION OF WOODROW WILSON AS PRESIDENT AND THOMAS R. MARSHALL AS VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, THE PURPOSE OF THE MANAGERS BEING TO FINANCE THE CAMPAIGN BY POPULAR SUBSCRIPTIONS.
No. A6905
Dated 1912
Countersigned
William F. McCombs CHAIRMAN
Rolla Wells TREASURER
H. Morgenthau CHAIRMAN FINANCE COM.
Robert Ewing CHAIRMAN PRESS CONTRIBUTIONS BUREAU

A Dozen Reasons Why I Should Vote

AGAINST
President Taft
BECAUSE

1. He signed the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Bill, and referred to it as the best tariff law ever enacted.
2. He vetoed the Farmers' Free List Bill, the Woolens Bill, and other bills reducing excessive tariff duties.
3. He has failed to take any steps to lessen the present high cost of living.
4. He supported Ballinger in his efforts to turn rich coal deposits in Alaska over to the Guggenheims.
5. He has used federal patronage to maintain a political machine manipulated in his behalf.
6. He abandoned his official duties to enter into an undignified scramble with his predecessor for renomination.
7. He has lost the confidence of his party and of the people.
8. He failed to support Dr. Wiley in his administration of the Pure Food Law.
9. His trust policy has helped the trusts and brought no relief to the people.
10. His administration has resulted in disappointment and failure.
11. He is a reactionary.
12. Ex-President Roosevelt, who knows him best, says of him: "He has proved faithless to the cause of the American people."

AGAINST
Ex-Pres. Roosevelt
BECAUSE

1. He has broken his solemn promise not to be a candidate for a third term, therefore his other promises are not to be replied upon.
2. For seven years he was President, and during those seven years the very conditions he now pretends to combat viciously were more thoroughly developed than during all the other periods in the country's history.
3. The day he became President there were 149 trusts or combinations, capitalized at $3,000,000,000, and the day he retired from office there were 1,020 such combinations, capitalized at $31,000,000,000.
4. He permitted the Steel Trust to acquire the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company, its principal rival, in violation of the anti-trust law, and forbade the prosecution of the Harvester Trust at the request of George W. Perkins, HIS PRESENT NATIONAL CHAIRMAN.
5. The man, next to Roosevelt, responsible for the third term movement is Geo. W. Perkins; Perkins is the promoter and defender of the most pernicious trusts in the United States, which are the most vicious imposers on the men, women and children wage earners of the country.
6. He urges the legalization of trust watered stock and monopoly, as first advocated by PERKINS, HIS PRINCIPAL SUPPORTER AND FINANCIAL BACKER.
7. He accepted campaign contributions from trusts, insurance companies and "crooked business," and denied that he had done so—"My dear, Harriman." He stands for "Boss" Flinn, "Boss" Woodruff and other "Bosses" who serve him.
8. During the seven years he was President, he failed, even refused to lift a finger against high tariff. Who believes, if elected, he would try to reduce excessive tariff taxes? Why is he surrounded now by high tariff men, who are contributing freely to his campaign fund?
9. He loves war better than peace.
10. Out of office he promises too much, and in office performs too little.
11. He says that the small farmer and the laborer of the city are not to be mentioned in the same breath with cowboys, etc. After describing the drunkenness and deadly shooting affrays of the cowboys, he writes:
    "But they are MUCH BETTER FELLOWS and PLEASANTER COMPANIONS than the small farmers or agricultural laborers; or are the MECHANICS OF A GREAT CITY TO BE MENTIONED IN THE SAME BREATH WITH THEM."
12. President Taft, who knows him best, says of him: "He is a demagogue, a neurotic, a flatterer, an egotist."

FOR
Next Pres. Wilson
BECAUSE

1. He is the only candidate for President who represents the real, the vital and the effective progressive forces in this country.
2. He stands for tariff revision downward in the interest of lower prices and the elimination of monopoly.
3. He stands for trust legislation which will prevent the control of prices through any sort of monopoly.
4. He stands for the income tax and believes that wealth should share the burdens as well as the blessings of government.
5. He stands for the rights of labor and the protection of the man who earns his bread by the sweat of his brow, as shown in his record as Governor of New Jersey.
6. He stands for the revival of our merchant marine, and for the encouragement of agriculture, industrial and vocational education.
7. He trusts the people and believes that the governed should govern; and that Senators should be chosen by the people.
8. He performs in office the promises made out of office.
9. He will "CLEAN HOUSE" at Washington as he has "CLEANED HOUSE" in New Jersey.
10. He preaches and practices clean politics, and practices it effectively. He unalterably opposes machine politics and the rule of the bosses.
11. He stands for legitimate big business every day, but for monopoly never.
12. As Senator LaFollette says, "He approaches every problem with the solemn promise to be really, in the highest sense, a servant of the people."